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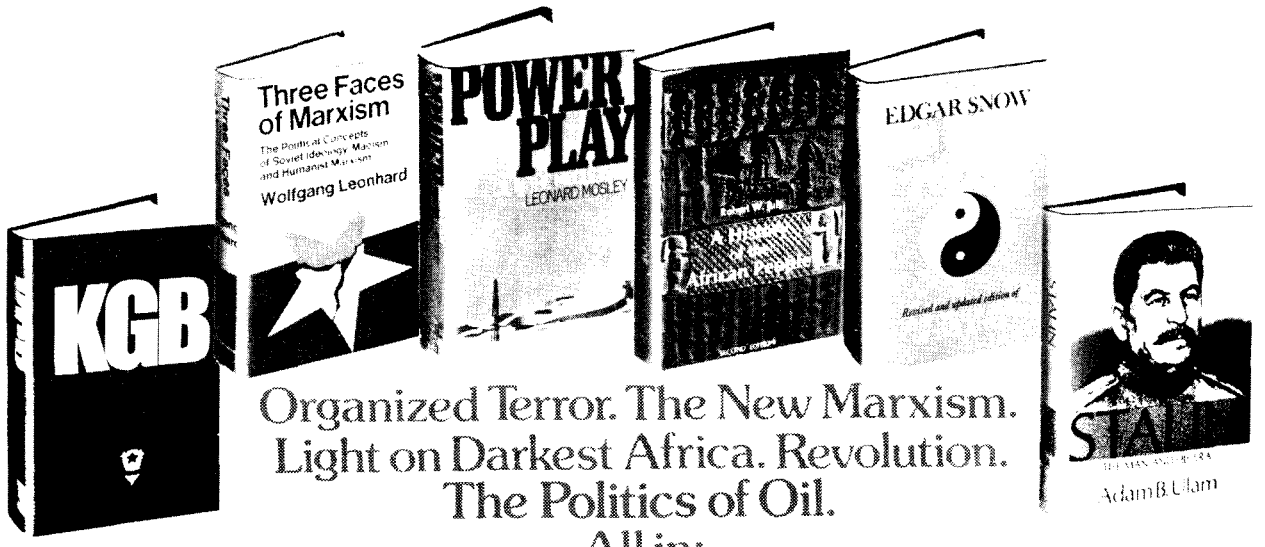

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TRB

from Washington
January 18, 1975

I Dissent

Many commentators see the Watergate guilty verdicts as a vindication of the American system. Here is the prestigious *New York Times* gloating editorially: "Once more in the long march of American history it has been demonstrated that this is indeed, with all its faults, a nation governed by laws and that no man, irrespective of rank, can with impunity violate the country's basic sense of legality and decency."

A comforting sentiment, indeed—echoed across the nation as the ultimate moral of Watergate as we close the tragic story. Sorry, I must dissent.

Certainly Nixon was forced to resign, but was he found guilty by any court? (Or was Spiro Agnew, for that matter?) The existence of the mysterious and mystical imperial presidency was never more conspicuous than when the Watergate jury filed in and rendered its solemn verdict with one name omitted.

Watergate, it seems to me, shows how far our loose system can be distorted, and how easy it is for someone in the White House, surrounded by patriotic symbols, sleeping in the Lincoln bed, attacked by spiteful newsmen, to rouse the emotional support of the reverent and the innocent. "I Trust My President" said one button, even as Nemesis approached.

What Nixon left was a blueprint for how it can be done. And not many safeguards have been written, really, to prevent another Watergate. Congress passed the sweeping campaign finance reform law, which should be a help, and it may be broadened as time goes on. But the chief hope seems to be that Watergate was so extraordinary that it won't be repeated. It never happened before, did it?—and look at the honorable man in the White House now.

I don't find much comfort in the fact that Mr. Ford isn't the type who goes in for dirty tricks in his amiably incompetent administration. Two forces still push toward executive aggrandizement: the fact that separation of powers no longer works well, and the fact that accelerating world events demand prompt action of the kind that the White House alone can provide.

Our form of government is a lot different from what the Fathers expected it would be 200 years ago. And it is doubtful whether even the original pattern of the Founders would have worked very well if it had been followed. As to the first proposition, when George Washington went to deliver his initial State of the Union message in New York, January 8, 1790, he was preceded and followed by regal outriders in his fine coach-and-six, and his concept of his semimonarchical role was to give information and make recommendations to Congress and let the buck stop there. The primary responsibility for lawmaking, he thought, was on Congress. Coordinate branches of government would watch each other and perhaps stalemate each other. Delay—so what! It took four and a half days to ride from Virginia to Philadelphia, and more to New York. Things could wait.

Now we travel by jet and instead of the constitutional concept of congressional equality we find Congress relegated to second place. Nixon carried his contempt of Congress beyond anybody else and so we see a reaction taking place. Some think that with Nixon gone Congress will permanently reassert itself. Sorry, I must dissent.

Congressional government has never worked well. We have tried it once or twice, particularly after wars, and impatient people have clamored very soon for a "strong" President. If we had developed a parliamentary system (as we almost did several times) we would have collectivized leadership in Congress with strong party control, and at the White House an amiable ceremonial President would be ready to snip ribbons, throw out the first ball at World Series, ski in Colorado and symbolize national unity.

Instead we got what chief Watergate prosecutor James Neal calls a "drift over the years to an all-powerful President." Not quite all-powerful; responsibility is still diffused. Nobody in Washington has final responsibility for the budget, nobody has final responsibility for anti-recession action and, in Congress itself, the two houses squabble among themselves blocking reforms that might aid the poor or tax the big oil companies. Tax reform passed one house and failed in the other; welfare reform died in the Senate after the House passed it twice; even the antique Electoral College, which the House sentenced to death in 1969, is still around: the Senate wouldn't act.

A system like this permits the establishment of what Marcus Raskin calls economic "baronies," corporations, banks, labor organizations, public and private bureaucracies that have built compartments that separate the man in the street from any exercise of meaningful power.

Make no mistake, our system works (to the awe of foreigners), and works pretty well in normal times. Only there aren't normal times any more; crisis is chronic. I have never, I think, seen greater anxiety and dread over the immediate future than there is in Washington at present. Domestic and global forces push reluctant Mr. Ford to action. Some think that this will all pass soon and that we shall get back to "normal."

Questions still arise. Why did we elect Nixon in the first place? He was called "Tricky Dick"; in Congress he exploited the Red Menace; he had a slush fund when he ran with Ike; when he ran for governor in California, a judge exposed his organizers' dirty tricks. In part Nixon won in 1972 because 45 percent of the eligible voters didn't vote. His "landslide" was about one-quarter of the potential electorate. If it is argued that Nixon won because he had weak competition, that only shifts the issue: why is the US electoral process so unsuccessful that it fails to stir 80 million potential voters to vote?

We will stumble through somehow, no doubt. But to argue that a system of fixed terms, set elections, separation of powers, divided control, weak parties and rival legislative chambers will produce a Congress capable of competing with the President seems unrealistic. Many feel that somehow the Watergate verdict has solved matters and that now we can relax. No future President, they feel, will yield to temptation or, if he does, Judge Sirica will be on hand and the culprit will courteously leave self-incriminating tape-recordings all along his route. Sorry, I must dissent.

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Politics as Spectator Sport

"It is hard to explain the place filled by political concerns in the life of an American," de Tocqueville wrote in the 1830s. "To take a hand in the government of society and to talk about it is his most important business and, so to say, the only pleasure he knows . . . The inhabitant in some countries shows a sort of repugnance in accepting political rights granted to him by the law; it strikes him as a waste of time to spend it on communal interests . . . But if an American should be reduced to occupying himself with his own affairs, at that moment half his existence would be snatched from him; he would feel it as a vast void in his life and would become incredibly unhappy." How would de Tocqueville describe our present political concerns? He might start with the 1974 experience. Only 38 percent of the 145 million eligible to vote made it to the polls last November. That was the poorest showing in an off-year election since 1942, when millions were off fighting and millions of defense workers were moving about the country. The record for presidential elections evinces the same decline: 64 percent in 1964 to 55 percent in 1972. In Western Europe average participation is about 84 percent.

What keeps so many from giving an hour or so every two years to a basic duty of citizenship? Could most Americans have thought last year that things were rocking along well enough? If so they were not listening to the news. For in 1974 we had Watergate, higher crime rates (up 16 percent the first nine months), higher prices (up 10.4 percent), and higher unemployment (up 1.8 million). There's often a time lag between default by the leaders and the public's perception of the default. But we'd guess that most people had a fair idea two months ago of how things were going. Yet in Texas, to take one dismal example, around 13 percent of the qualified voters went to the polls. The number of black legislators in 11 Southern states went up 56 percent (59 to 92) in November, but average voter turnout in the South was way below 30 percent. No one is sure how many 18-year-olds voted, but checks in such places as Boulder, Colorado and Ames, Iowa, suggest that the students participated in about the same percentages as their parents. That they were no more turned on by politics than their elders is consistent with the finding of a 1974 survey conducted by the American Council on Education and UCLA, showing that fewer freshmen than in any of the last eight years thought

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it important to try to influence the political scene.

The commonest explanation is that a growing number of Americans are convinced that it doesn't matter who wins an election, since politicians as a tribe, they say, are timid time-servers, incompetents, crooks, or all three. No doubt many nonvoters, especially among the young, *do* think that all the political apples are bad, and the barrel rotten to boot. The embittered are consoled by this bad apple/rotten barrel analogy, because it casts abstinence in the light of positive duty. But to believe that nothing can be accomplished through the political process is to assure that nothing can be. Yet had a handful of voters in New Hampshire changed their minds last November, New Hampshire might have elected a different senator than the state will have for the next six years. To think that it makes no difference who represents New Hampshire is to think that marginal differences don't count, but they do count. All that moves us forward from worse to better is an accumulation of marginal differences. That is the essence of progress in a nation where innumerable accommodations are continually necessary to maintain order and approximate justice. When a sizable body of citizens becomes convinced that such accommodation is worthless or wrong, or that progress can come only through some cataclysm, then it's goodbye to domestic tranquility. Bitter confrontation becomes the order of the day, not reconciliation of differences and a search for common ground on which to advance.

One of America's radical spokesmen reflects the cataclysmic, utopian approach when he writes of how "inspiriting" it is "to anticipate and work for the time when there will be no one in prison, and no one in a bombing plane or under a bomb, and when none of the institutions or beliefs of the society assume that some people are less valuable than others." A noble vision, but not of this world. Human beings may have equal value in the sight of the Almighty, but they do not, cannot have equal value in the sight of society. The vision of a democratic politics is more modest, though perhaps less "inspiriting." It looks toward the adjustment of competing claims, managed in the least fractious manner possible. And to this end it enlists the energies of citizens not only as voters, but as joiners in all kinds of civic enterprises.

Commenting on H. G. Wells in the first issue of this journal, 60 years ago, Walter Lippmann wrote that Wells was distinguished among utopians in that new experience constantly amended his blueprint, that Wells "seemed to win by a constant renewal of effort, in which he refused to sink either into acceptance of the world, or into self-contained satisfaction with his vision." That expresses the political temperament.

Now a word about mechanics. Why make it hard to influence public policy? Studies have shown that many stay away from the polls because they aren't registered, and they aren't registered because they don't know how and where or don't want to show up in person to do it. They ought to, but they don't. Recognizing that, and noting that in the 1972 presidential election about 38 million people eligible to vote were unregistered, the Senate in May of 1973 approved (57 to 37) legislation allowing registration for national election by postcard. Opponents charged that the bill invaded states' rights and was an invitation to fraud—though stiff penalties against fraud were attached. Other proposals considered but rejected included one endorsed by the National Association of Secretaries of State and by the National Municipal League, providing block grants to the states for improving registration procedures. However it all came to nothing when the House, a year later, voted not to take up the matter. At the time Sen. Sam Ervin said that he was against making it easier to register because it "puts power in the hands of people who do not care enough about their country." That is a very high-minded and very exclusive view of democracy. A narrow electorate is unsatisfactory if only because it is more susceptible than a broad electorate to manipulation by propaganda and by every sort of well financed selfish interest.

As we near the 200th year of the republic—140 years after de Tocqueville—will it be a matter of indifference to the majority to whom authority to manage our affairs is delegated? Are we moving away from representative government and toward nonaccountable rule? Is the public becoming insensible to the price that has been paid for universal suffrage, which only in our lifetime has been extended to women, blacks and the young?

The election of 1976 may prove that it has not come to that. But if it does come to that, the blame will not rest wholly on the shoulders of the "common man." One can feel some sympathy for the bystander who asks: why choose if the "choices" are barely distinguishable; why choose if those seeking power are no more enlightened than the rest of us about the causes of our troubles; why choose if politicians' innermost convictions are as ephemeral as a Gallup poll? When there is a real battle over real issues, interest in elections goes up, as in South Dakota last November, where Sen. McGovern was under sharp attack from a former prisoner of war: the turnout was 56 percent. A lively bugler rouses the troops for action by the company. The largest voter response in an off-year election in the past 45 years was in 1962 when John F. Kennedy was in the White House. Indifferent leaders leave us to sleep or to plot rebellion.

To Our Readers

Gilbert A. Harrison, editor-in-chief of this journal since 1956, has resigned. This is the last issue of *The New Republic* published under his editorial direction.

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Downs and Ups

The current recession is well on its way to becoming the worst since World War II. Even Alan Greenspan, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, finds the outlook for 1975 "neither pleasant nor reassuring." When discounted for inflation, national output has declined for 12 months and is equal to the declines recorded during 1960-61 and 1953-54. If the present slump continues through June, the 1974-75 recession will be by far the longest since the war. Last year national output (as measured by the Gross National Product) declined about four percent in real terms, the sharpest drop in previous recessions was 3.9 percent, in 1957-58. The jobless rate in December (the January figure won't be available until early February) was 7.1 percent, below the peak of 7.5 percent in 1957-58 and 7.9 percent in 1948-49. But the White House concedes that the unemployment rate may rise to eight percent in the next few months, a postwar high, and Mr. Greenspan says there's an "exceedingly small probability" (if a probability *can* be exceedingly small) that it will hit 10 percent.

What makes the recession unique is, of course, the behavior of prices. While the turndown was accelerating, consumer prices kept rising sharply and ended the year about 12.5 percent higher than in December 1973. This was in sharp contrast to four of the other postwar recessions and decidedly worse than 1969-70, when retail prices rose by only 5.6 percent. In the 1960-61 downturn consumer prices held steady; in 1957-58, they *fell* by one percent, as they did in 1953-54; and in 1948-49, they dropped 4.2 percent. A similar pattern is reflected in wholesale industrial prices, which soared almost 30 percent in 1974. In 1969-70 they rose 3.6 percent, but they declined during the other recessions (5.5 percent in 1948-49).

This "stagflation" has cut real take-home pay by about six percent, in contrast to other postwar downturns, when real wages actually rose a bit. The Joint Congressional Economic Committee notes that taxes for individuals in the last year increased $10 billion, mainly because of higher Social Security taxes and wage gains that pushed households into higher tax brackets; at the same time, their real income was sagging because of inflation. The committee points out that "the decline in real disposable income during the current recession is larger, in fact almost twice as large, as any other postwar recession. Thus sharp decline in purchasing power may portend an even greater than normal drag on the economy and may well dampen a recovery expected now to begin toward the end of 1975."

It now makes sense to cut taxes as quickly as possible and it makes longer-run sense to adjust the tax system to compensate families moving into higher brackets, while their net income is falling. But the basic problem is neither recession nor inflation, but stagflation. Economists see a flat year at best in 1975, with prices increasing at much higher rates than normal. Many of the forecasts see an end to "double digit inflation" (meaning 10 percent or more) but go on to project the price rise at 9.9 percent! Meanwhile we await word from someone in authority on how we are to go about successfully fighting recession and inflation simultaneously.

"Hi!—er, I don't suppose you've had time yet to whip inflation, or anything. . .?"

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The Karen Silkwood Case

Plutonium Scandal

Plutonium is one of the most deadly poisons. Very little is found in nature, but when it's manufactured it stays around for thousands of years before disintegrating into a less dangerous isotope. A kilogram made today (and many kilograms are being made) will be reduced to one gram in 200,000 years or so. Yet one-millionth of a gram has been shown to cause cancer in beagles. Scientists assume it is just as toxic for man, though no death from plutonium poisoning has been recorded. Aside from being a poison in its own right, plutonium is an essential ingredient of the atom bomb —the key ingredient that can't be bought or made in a good lab. Before the 20th century the world didn't know this poison existed, and even in the last decade the world supply could have been packed into a closet. All this is changing. Plutonium is a byproduct of the atomic reactors used to generate electricity, and the government's plans for nuclear power call for huge amounts of plutonium to be shipped around the country at the end of this century. Officials at the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) have spoken of the "plutonium economy" as something that may replace today's oil and gas economy. By the year 2020, they say, American corporations will have processed more than 100,000 tons of plutonium for use in "breeder-reactors" that generate electricity and at the same time "breed" fresh supplies of the stuff.

Any scientific process loses some of its severity when moved from the research lab to the commercial factory. Mistakes happen more frequently. Workers must follow routines they don't understand or care about, and they get sloppy. Normally this tendency for the quality of work to decline as production increases doesn't pose a great threat to life or limb, though it does force us to deal with cars that fall apart. But when the item being mass produced is plutonium, mistakes are intolerable. A piece of this rare metal the size of a softball is enough to make a bomb like the one dropped on Nagasaki, or, if properly dispersed, a radioactive cloud that could give everyone on the planet lung cancer.

In the last few months a strong case against private industry's ability to safely handle plutonium has been laid out, quite unintentionally, by one of the big investors in the business—Kerr-McGee of Oklahoma. A little more than a year ago some workers at the Kerr-McGee plutonium fuel plant near Crescent, Oklahoma began complaining, and some of the stories reached local nuclear power watchers Ilene and Gaylord Younghein. The Youngheins wrote a letter warning that there had been at least three recorded plutonium leaks at the Kerr-McGee factory. In the most recent, the Youngheins reported, a clean-up worker was treated for radiation burns when a plutonium solution poured through a hole in his glove. The Youngheins also mentioned that two workers had accidentally left the plant at noon one day without going through the decontamination process. Luckily they didn't contaminate the restaurant where they had lunch.

Last August a local branch of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) drew the workers' complaints into a formal list of grievances against the company. One of the leaders was a young lab analyst named Karen Silkwood. Though she'd been at the plant a relatively short time, she apparently became known as "a troublemaker." She promoted the union, criticized the lax safety procedures and endangered the company's reputation by collecting evidence on employees who were falsifying quality control records. In September the union turned these complaints over to the AEC for investigation. Then something odd happened. When Silkwood was driving to meet a union representative and a *New York Times* reporter on November 13, she went off the road, crashed against a cement culvert and died. The Oklahoma state police believe she fell asleep at the wheel, and there's some evidence she was on tranquilizers at the time. However a professional accident investigator hired by the union examined the car and decided that Silkwood swerved off the road after being hit from behind by another car. The FBI is investigating.

Just as mysterious as Karen Silkwood's death was her exposure to plutonium immediately before. On three consecutive days about a week before the accident, Silkwood reported to health experts in the plant with plutonium on her skin and had herself cleaned up and sent home. Tests first seemed to indicate that she'd been badly contaminated, but after a month and a half of study, the AEC tentatively concluded that Silkwood contaminated herself for reasons unknown. She didn't swallow or inhale plutonium in an accident at the factory, they said.

The Silkwood case is still unresolved, but the verdict is in for the complaints she and the union filed earlier. The AEC announced last week that 20 of 39 allegations made by Kerr-McGee employees were at least partially true. The company also was found in violation of three government regulations, a couple of them quite serious. Investigators learned, for example, that respirators used by workers in "hot" plutonium labs were not checked regularly for leaks, that filters were not replaced. They found that plutonium had been stored on a shelf or in desk drawers, not in a vault as required. They discovered that employees were not required to shower before going home; that results of air tests were delayed for days though work in the tested area never stopped; that workers were often exposed to accidental leaks of plutonium for one reason or another and that supervisors on more than one occasion had workers put on protective clothing

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and continue the job rather than stop to repair the leak. Most disturbing, the AEC found that the company failed to report a serious leak and lab shutdown, and that employees were routinely given pure plutonium to work with, even though the company isn't licensed to possess it. A separate investigation found that several employees had tampered with quality control data without approval from above. One technician who doctored photos said he did so to save himself unnecessary work.

Kerr-McGee is one of the nuclear elite. Only a few other companies have been allowed by the AEC to handle plutonium compounds on a commercial basis. If Kerr-McGee were the only one with problems, there'd be less reason for concern. But AEC inspection files show that the Oklahoma factory is little worse than others and better than at least one. Consider, for example, last October's report on another member of the plutonium club, the Nuclear Fuels Service plant at Erwin, Tennessee. Investigators cited five code violations and found that the amount of radioactive material in the lunchroom was eight times the maximum level permitted by the AEC (and the AEC level is considerably higher than what the National Academy of Sciences regards as safe). Another plutonium processor, Gulf United Nuclear Fuels of Pawling, New York, had an explosion in its lab when someone made a careless mistake a few days before Christmas in 1972. Technicians were allowed to work in what they supposed was an airtight container, but was in reality a leaky box under repair. Air entered, mixed with cleaning fluid and burst into flame. The force of the blast broke glass and sent radioactive dust out the chimney and windows of the lab. Gulf's report to the AEC minimized the incident. "Release of plutonium from the building was minor," Gulf said.

Another plan in Rocky Flats, Colorado, run by Dow Chemical, disclosed recently that in 21 years it had had 271 fires, experienced 410 contamination cases and lost 25,000 drums of material containing "traces" of plutonium. Robert Gillette of *Science* magazine has documented the use of transient workers in jobs too radioactively "hot" for regular employees at a nuclear fuel service plant near Buffalo, New York. Gillette estimated that the company hired an average of 1400 temporary workers each year for dirty work, some of them recruited from bars with a promise of easy pay. Many standbys were needed because on the very "hot" chores a person could receive a full quarter year dose of radiation in a few minutes. Each worker would step aside as he reached the saturation level and let a fresh one step in.

Multiply the troubles of the plutonium business by a factor of 100 or so, and you may get a picture of what the AEC has in store for us in the next 25 years. According to AEC projections there will be about 200 breeder-reactors, 20 plutonium fuel plans and thousands of hot cargo shipping containers by year 2000.

Eliot Marshall

How Dangerous Are They?

A Primer on Petrodollars

by Sidney E. Rolfe

Will the world be ruined by petrodollars? A few political analysts think so, but the majority of economists are more relaxed and tend to agree with Prof. Richard Cooper that "the actualities are perhaps more reassuring than frightening."

The political analyst's concern is with questions of power and psychological advantages. For example the threat of an oil embargo can force unwanted foreign policy choices that are against a nation's best interest. The accumulation of vast wealth and income by oil-producing countries, and particularly Arab countries, is seen as rife with political dangers: control over industrial and economic decisions (if Arab monies are invested in industry), the creation of an Arab lobby to influence opinion and possibly to corrupt politicians, and similar misuses of power. These fears may well be justified, particularly in the short run. The economists, however, focus on the purely technical aspects of financial flows and investments, and the recycling of oil money, all of which they hold to be

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manageable problems, even in some cases beneficial to the West in the longer run. It is the purely economic consequences of petrodollars that concern me here.

Four obvious questions arise: What is a petrodollar? What is the magnitude of the problem? How is oil to be paid for? What will be done with the money?

First, the West pays dollars (and some sterling) to the oil-producing countries in exchange for oil, quadrupled in price to its present approximately $11 a barrel. As the dollar receipts of the oil-producing countries flow back to the developed financial markets of the West they are relabeled petrodollars. Although they are owned by OPEC individuals and governments, petrodollars do not differ from other dollars.

Second, the petrodollar problem is not small. No one is absolutely certain of the amounts, because estimates of future demand and the price of oil require some guessing. One early estimate anticipated a $650 billion OPEC surplus by 1980. The OECD in Paris, in a more astute but nevertheless uncertain, assumption-laden estimate, cut that figure in half—to some $250-300 billion. For 1974 a reasonable estimate is that OPEC oil revenues were $100-120 billion. Net of expenditures for goods, services and arms, the cash surplus is thought to be very substantial indeed—some $60 billion, most of it in the hands of the underdeveloped Arab nations.

1974 illustrates the complexity of forecasting. At near $11 a barrel, demand for oil has fallen, particularly in Europe and Japan. So there is currently a glut in world markets. At this price a great deal of oil is simply not being used. Cars are driven less, houses heated less, electricity used less. Logically the price of oil should have declined, so as to clear the markets. Instead the cartel raised prices another 10 percent toward the end of 1974 and has cut back production about 10 percent. The cutback has not been uniform however. In Libya output has fallen from some 3.7 million barrels a day to one million, for a variety of reasons. This "mini-embargo" is economic, not political. So was the 1973 oil embargo, although it was rationalized by the Middle East war.

The future of the petrodollar problem will of course be influenced by the energy policy adopted by the West, and particularly the US. The 780-page "Project Independence" report of the Federal Energy Administration, which appeared in November 1974, laid out alternative costs and benefits of several strategies. If oil stays at $11, for example, and the US at the same time adopts an "accelerated supply" strategy for US domestic [offshore] production, plus a "conservation" strategy, dollar outflows from the US for imported oil will fall to zero by 1985. But the domestic cost will be diminished economic growth. Can the cartel hold fast to an $11 price in this case?

If the oil price is reduced (or can be forced) down to seven dollars a barrel, as Secretaries Kissinger, Simon and the FEA report would like, our Gross National Product would grow more. But our dependency on imported oil would also grow, and by 1985 US dollar payments for oil imports would be at least $14 billion and perhaps as much as $31 billion.

Abstracting from all these uncertainties, economists are nevertheless not too deeply concerned. Suppose the OPEC surplus in the future (1980-85) is in the $300 billion range. Assuming these dollars can be absorbed by Western financial markets as some form of debt (serviced but never repaid) at an interest of say 10 percent a year, servicing this OPEC wealth would cost $30 billion a year. This is about three-fourths of one percent of the four trillion dollars combined GNPs that the US, Western Europe and Japan should have by the 1980s. While this is an enormous amount of income for a handful of OPEC recipients, it is not an unmanageable sum for the West. There will need to be some big adjustments in the money and capital markets of the West until this kind of equilibrium is reached. Continued flexibility of exchange rates is required to provide the needed elasticity of exports and imports among the Western nations, so that all can earn enough dollars to service the OPEC debt. But if markets are allowed to operate and are not overly rigidified, it can be done.

If economists see these sums as manageable, however, political analysts are impressed with the fact that this is the most revolutionary transfer (or seizure) of wealth the world has ever seen. From the point of view of relative power, they are alarmed that the $60 billion of spare cash generated by OPEC in 1974 compares to the total size of the US Treasury bill market, the largest financial market in the world, which barely exceeds $100 billion. Similarly while the economist sees the ultimate resolution in terms of the long-term investment of these funds, those preoccupied with power point out that four months' oil income for Saudi Arabia alone will buy, at present prices, all of the shares of the 30 leading companies on the London Stock Exchange, or the wealth of a couple of centuries' work. On this question of relative magnitudes, the more relaxed attitude of the economist is again reflected by Richard Cooper: ". . . by 1980 OPEC wealth will still amount to only 2-4 percent of the world's capital stock and a similar percent of total assets, financial as well as real."

It should be noted in passing that the prevailing political scenario may be unnecessarily scary. For oil wealth is creating "haves" and also "have nots" (Egypt and Syria, with huge populations and little money) in the Arab world. It is quite possible that the newly displayed Arab unity, based on the expectation that oil wealth will be shared among the Arab countries, may not endure or may not satisfy the "have nots' " dreams of development. Might there not be friction between the rich and poor Arab countries? The Yemen's successful resistance to Egyptian in-

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vasion from 1962-67 (Nasser's "own Vietnam") was paid for by Saudi Arabia, and there was no Arab brotherhood then.

Third, the Western nations that must pay the gross new sums for oil do not have the cash to do so. Nor can they export enough goods to the OPEC suppliers, who do not import sufficiently, in exchange for oil. So they must resort to borrowing. This raises the problem of "recycling" petrodollars. The non-Arab oil exporters such as Iran and Venezuela are by and large developing countries whose revenues will be used to purchase tractors from the West, and arms for defense. There is no great buildup of cash here. On the contrary many are apt to outrun their income as development begets inflation, which begets imports, and ends in deficit.

The anxiety about borrowing falls particularly on the Arab nations, with their great surplus of receipts over expenditures. These surpluses must come back to the financial markets of the West as deposits or investments. They can only be "hoarded" by leaving oil in the ground. The trouble is that not all Western countries that need money for oil will get it from the OPEC investors, who of course will deposit or invest only in the safest, soundest countries. Italy and the less developed countries are the most poignant cases in point. Their deficits for oil purchases are not offset by countervailing Arab inflows—they are bad credit risks—so they must seek to borrow funds from the US or Germany or Switzerland, or from certain banks in the Eurodollar system that are creditworthy for investment by Arab standards.

But Italy and other weaker nations are bad credit risks for the stronger Western nations as well. In 1974, apart from some government to government lending, the banking system recycled OPEC surpluses to Italy and other weaker nations by loans. But the limit of prudent lending seems to have been reached as capital to lending ratios is strained. A default by a week borrower could domino through the banking system of the West. The Kissinger-Simon safety net, a pool of government funds to lend to the weak, is meant to cover the gap. Only governments (not private banks) can risk further lending to the weak: outright grants might be better.

But governmental recycling fervor should not be permitted to impede needed adjustments. The real need is to permit market adjustments to go on, including changes in the exchange rate, so that the weak can earn enough to offset their oil deficits. This will require the relative devaluation of currencies of the weak, so that they may sell more goods and earn a surplus on trade from those stronger countries that are receiving Arab deposits or investments. With the present system of floating exchange rates, this adjustment will tend to occur unless governments—both weak and strong—intervene to prevent it. The urge to intervene should be curbed.

Exchange rates also can fail to perform their function if there are sudden withdrawals by the Arabs from a currency—through malice, inadvertence or political fears. Here international cooperation is needed to support the dumped currency, probably by means of credit swaps among the leading nations. Market adjustments alone cannot handle this type of problem quickly enough to prevent dangerous instability.

Fourth, what do the Arabs do with their money once we are able to pay for the oil? At the moment there is a strong Arab preference to place money on short-term deposits. This reflects both the recent high short-term interest rates and Arab nervousness. In addition they prefer to place this money with a handful of banks—about 40 in the world—that they believe are reliable. But huge deposits on very short term with the banks raise problems for those banks. They cannot handle such large amounts of money if it can be withdrawn on very short notice. There are plenty of new depositors to replace a $1000 withdrawal, but who replaces a $300 million deposit that Mr. Arab decides to pull out on short (or no) notice? Many banks further complain that they cannot handle huge Arab deposits because their capital base is too small and cannot be enlarged by the sales of shares in our depressed market.

But as short-term interest rates tend to fall and as the Arabs are forced by the lack of available deposit facilities to move to longer term, new problems arise with respect to what the Arabs can or will buy. Treasury bills of the big countries—the US or Germany—provide great safety, relative freedom from control, but a declining yield. Will the Arabs move to the share (equity) markets? To the bond markets? The movement of Arab funds into the equity markets raises political specters. If they buy up substantial control of companies, it is feared that they can manipulate their decisions and thus the nation's economic and financial future. This is the reverse of the multinational corporation question. Just as the French were frightened that the American multinational companies could make decisions in Detroit that would adversely affect Strasbourg, the Americans are now frightened that decisions made in Riyad may affect Detroit. Since it is virtually impossible to find a large American corporation that is not to some extent involved with our national security, Arab control or influence in such companies is bound to be disturbing. Hence Arthur Burns' suggestion that the Arabs invest in "Coca Cola or Quaker Oats," a suggestion of doubtful practicality since they have so much more money than we have oats.

To the extent that the Arabs do invest in equity markets, however, they are at hostage and must act in a reasonably responsible manner, or risk government retribution. Recent legislation to provide surveillance

(continued on page 14)

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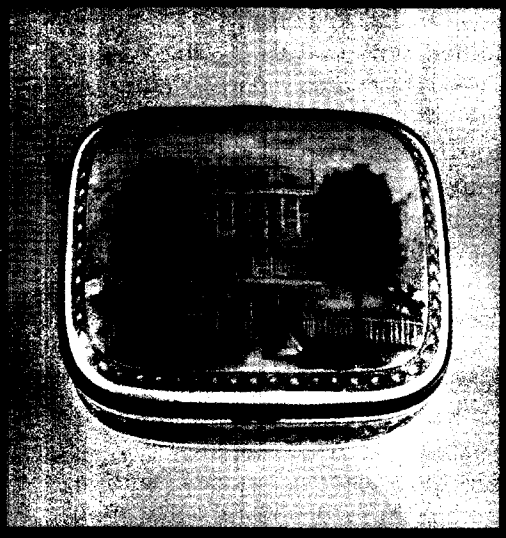
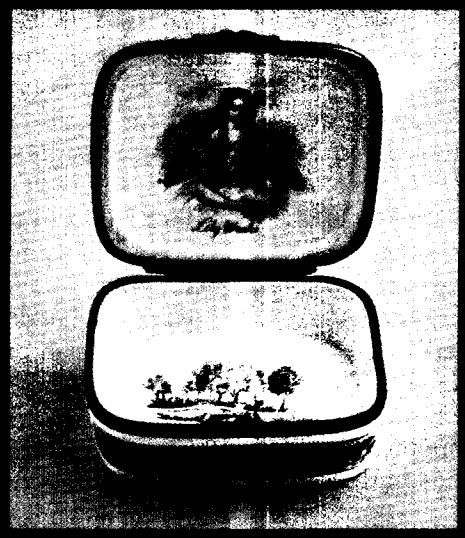
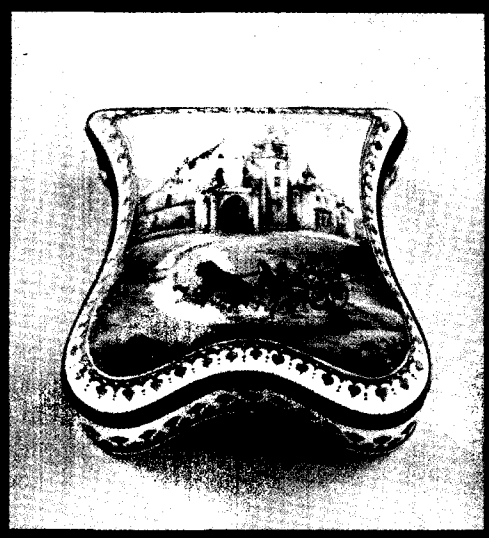
Shadows-on-the-Teche





Lyndhurst



The National Trust Collection

By James Biddle

George Washington was two years old when John Drayton, a member of the King's Council for the Colony of South Carolina, broke ground for a two-storey brick mansion on the Ashley River, 12 miles upstream from Charleston. It stood sturdily through the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, and is one of the few great Carolina houses to escape the ravages of the Civil War.

And although Drayton Hall is celebrated as one of the great architectural and historical treasures of America, its survival is threatened. Deterioration and vandalism have taken a heavy toll and up to $2,000,000 is urgently needed for preservation and the creation of an endowment which will insure the proper long-range support of this priceless landmark.

If we succeed in raising half this sum, aided by sales of the National Trust Collection of Fine Porcelain Boxes, we can obtain an equal amount of federal funds. Every dollar you give is worth two in our fight to save Drayton Hall. Clearly, your support is of critical importance.

If you join us in this cause, you will be invited to attend a dedication of Drayton Hall next April. A Southern country breakfast will be provided at the Plantation, followed by a reception at Russell House, headquarters of the Historic Charleston Foundation and one of the most beautiful early 19th century houses in America. There we will celebrate the rescue of Drayton Hall and mark the completion of our twenty-fifth year as the only non-governmental organization chartered by Congress to safeguard America's cultural and historical heritage.

The invitation list will include our five Honorary Members, Mrs. Nixon, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Onassis, Mrs. Eisenhower and Mrs. Truman. The Secretary of the Interior and members of Congress will be invited, as will eminent architects, historians and preservationists.

A specially commissioned medallion will be struck to honor this significant milestone in the history of preservation, and each subscriber will receive a serially numbered copy in pure silver, or in bronze.

Actual size

Drayton Hall Serially numbered medallion celebrating the rescue of Drayton Hall and the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the National Trust. Combined silver and bronze edition limited to 2500.

The National Trust Collection of Fine Porcelain Boxes celebrates some of the historic properties which the Trust preserves for public benefit: Cliveden, Woodlawn, Shadows-on-the-Teche, Lyndhurst, and Decatur House. We selected for this demanding project the finest of the few craftsmen in the world capable of meeting our standards: the famous and venerable Porcelaine de Paris.

Each box is different in shape, made from models over 100 years old and is decorated in exquisite detail from original oils, watercolors, and design motifs found within our National Trust properties. The artists who inspired these designs include Edward Savage (1789), John Robert Murray (1824), Alexander Jackson Davis (1838), and Currier & Ives (1875).

Of course, fine art cannot be transferred directly to porcelain but must be repainted for the medium by highly skilled artists. Two were selected for this delicate assignment, each with 25 years of experience. Both have been named "Best Worker of France", an extraordinary award given but once every three years to a handful of workers in the entire nation.

The secret of making porcelain was guarded by its Chinese originators for 1200 years. It was not until 1709 that an alchemist in Meissen discovered the Chinese formula, but he kept it only a decade. During this short span, German artisans developed porcelain as an art form, and when other European centers learned the secret, they contributed to the state of the art.

Paris was one of these centers, and outstanding among its many factories was Porcelaine de Paris, established by Jean Baptiste Locre in 1773 — the year of our Boston Tea Party. It has been, since 1860, the sole surviving porcelain factory in the City of Paris.

The Prospect of Appreciation

There is no guarantee that these boxes will increase in value. However, it has become abundantly clear in recent years that the greatest increase among collectors' items is

James Biddle, President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, was Curator of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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obtained by limited editions with specific characteristics:

- The issue must be officially sanctioned.
- The quality of materials used should be, simply, the best obtainable.
- The artistic merit must be exceptional.
- The craftsmanship must be impeccable.
- The edition must be strictly limited.

It is my opinion that these boxes meet our exacting requirements in every respect. Whether you wish to purchase them for aesthetic, charitable, or investment reasons — or all three — we commend them to your consideration.

For your information, antique porcelain boxes, especially those from the 18th century, are bringing extremely high prices. In the past five years, prices have more than tripled. At one recent Sotheby Parke-Bernet auction, a 1745 gold-mounted porcelain box from Meissen fetched $2,400, and at another auction, 11 boxes were knocked down at prices ranging from $175 to $30,000 each.

A Very Limited Offering

The National Trust Collection is strictly limited to 2,500 sets. Each one of the five boxes in every set is serially numbered. Orders will be filled in the exact sequence in which they are received, one set per subscriber.

The first set will be presented to the Smithsonian Institution for its permanent collection. The last set will remain on display in our Decatur House headquarters. The remaining 2,498 are available at $600 the set. Upon completion of sale, the litho stones used to prepare the series will be defaced, thus assuring protection to all subscribers for all time.

If you agree that these boxes are outstanding, that prospects for their appreciation are indeed bright, and that our work to save Drayton Hall and preserve America's heritage is worthy of your support — then I urge you to act promptly.

Send us your check for $600 to purchase your set of The National Trust Collection of Fine Porcelain Boxes. Your payment will be acknowledged and you will be informed of your number in the limited edition. (Should we offer another group of boxes at some future date, the first opportunity to purchase a set bearing your serial number will be reserved for you.) In consideration of your full payment in advance, you will receive a .999 fine silver medallion struck to commemorate our twenty-five years of dedication to historic preservation and the rescue of Drayton Hall.

If you prefer, you may pay $250 now to reserve your set and remit the balance of $350 prior to shipment. You will also receive the commemorative medallion in bronze.

You will have two weeks following receipt of your Collection to make your own independent appraisal and decide if you wish to keep it. If you decide against the Collection, simply return it insured. Your payment will be refunded in full and there will be no further obligation.

If you decide to keep the Collection, you will be elected a Sustaining Member of the National Trust with all of the many rights and privileges accorded such members. Your name, as the original purchaser, will also be entered in a special bound volume which will be maintained in the National Trust Archives.

And, of course, you will be a guest of honor next April at Drayton Hall when we salute our first 25 years and celebrate the rescue of this magnificent property. It will be a memorable gathering.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation
743 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
Attention: James Biddle, President

Gentlemen: I wish to purchase one serially numbered set of The National Trust Collection of five hinged porcelain boxes. You will advise me of this number upon confirming my order in writing. I will also receive an invitation to the dedication of Drayton Hall and a reception at Russell House in April.

☐ Enclosed is full payment of $600. In consideration of this advance payment, I will also receive a pure silver medallion specially struck to commemorate the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of The National Trust and the rescue of Drayton Hall.

Or, ☐ I enclose $250 deposit. The balance of $350 will be due upon notification of shipment; or, in approximately 30 days. I will also receive a limited edition medallion, as described above, in bronze.

Enclosed is my check in the amount of
☐ $600 ☐ $250
Or, charge ☐ $600 ☐ $250 deposit to:
☐ Diners Club ☐ BankAmericard
☐ Master Charge
Master Charge Interbank No._____
Account No._____
Expires_____

Signature

Name

Address

City State Zip

Guarantee: If I wish, I may return my purchase within two weeks for a full, unquestioned refund. It is understood that such a refund automatically cancels the various subscriber's privileges as outlined above.

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of foreign investment is significant. The soul of a corporation is its management, more than its bricks, mortar or technology: high-handed tactics could alienate or lose managerial talent. Moreover as the Arabs buy equities, the price of those equities is apt to rise, which will enable companies to sell more equities in order to raise needed capital. In this sense the investment of petrodollars in equities will result in the creation of additional wealth, and is highly desirable in an economy already too reliant on debt.

Some economists are even more hopeful about the prospects of petrodollars. They point out that what is happening in broad scope is that high-consumption Westerners are being taxed (through higher oil prices) and the money turned over to a low-consumption people. The Arabs do not consume their money, they reinvest it. This addition to the stock of investment capital in the recipient country aids economic growth and reduces interest rates, and generally provides a channeling of funds to productive use that the high-consumption country is unable to do, simply because it eats up too much of its product.

Any perception of the world by 1985 is based on projections of present trends. But we cannot be sure what oil demand, supply or prices will be in 1985. Some of the strategies in the "Project Independence" report cited mention the possibility that by 1985 the Arabs may well have far less money to reinvest than is currently thought. This is particularly true if we break the oil-energy equation. The US sits on a sea of coal, bearing four times more energy than all the Mideast oil combined, enough to supply our needs for several hundred years. It can be put to mass use well before 1980, if we reduce man-made constraints. Moreover it is inconceivable that new technologies will not be employed by a civilization that has become strong and "industrial" precisely because it *can* develop and use technology. American energy policy should strike out forcefully in these directions—toward an interim coal revival and crash programs of new technologies to bring into use the electric energy economy in which oil is no longer critical.

Fear of Force in the Middle East

The Oil-Grab Scenario

by Earl C. Ravenal

As the Mideast diplomatic stalemate persists and oil dollars flow into Arab treasuries from financially embattled Western nations, there is a flurry of interest in coercive military solutions to our economic and strategic problems. The prospect has been revived in Prof. Robert W. Tucker's article in this month's *Commentary*, and US and foreign newspapers have drawn dire inferences from the remarks of Henry Kissinger in an interview in *Business Week*, December 23, 1974. For the first time Kissinger seemed to countenance the use of force under certain extreme conditions, which he called "actual strangulation of the industrialized world."

Speculation about US military intervention—either a seizure or covert overthrow of some Arab oil-producing state to force price reductions and assure supply—has appeared from time to time in the past two years, even before the Yom Kippur war and the Arab oil embargo of October 1973. There was the "ominous scenario" recited by Sen. Fulbright, quoting "a visiting Israeli scholar," in spring 1973: "Our present policy-makers and policy-influencers may come to the conclusion that military action is required to secure the oil resources of the Mideast, to secure our exposed 'jugular.'" (The senator's thinking was dated by the notion that the Shah of Iran might do *our* bidding, as distinct from his own.) The oil economist M. A. Adelman, writing in *Foreign Policy*, winter 1972-73, posed the quaint question: "Is the oil shortage real?" Some of his analysis was more durable than the title, though he also involved the Shah as an American pawn or proxy: ". . . the Iranian army might be hailed as liberators from the chronic bloody struggle with the

EARL C. RAVENAL, *a former official in the office of the Secretary of Defense, is now professorial lecturer at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington and the author of the forthcoming book,* Beyond the Balance of Power: Foreign Policy and International Order.

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Baghdad regime. A new pipeline to the Mediterranean could go through Iran and Turkey."

Kissinger's interview was not the first time a government official had publicly pondered the conditions for American intervention. (Besides, Kissinger seemed to *rule out* intervention just to bring down the price of oil—even covert action would be "too high a price to pay even for an immediate reduction in oil prices"—though in diplomatic parlance even a denial in response to a leading question and qualified by tight contingent circumstances can be taken as a signal.) A year ago, on January 7, 1974, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said that the United States might use force against Arab countries if they carried their oil embargo "too far"—a remark that caused alarm throughout the Arab world and drew rejoinders from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait that they would blow up their oilfields in the event of any such military intervention.

Somehow, this time, the denials seem less convincing. The tempo of debate seems to have quickened. Is force a more serious option now than before? What has changed?

First of all, the repetitious calls for decisive action has a cumulative effect; they publicize the idea of armed intervention, create a community of expectation, almost legitimize the option. Desperate talk about intervention also thrives on the expiration of Kissinger's policy of step-by-step maneuver toward the receding goal of a comprehensive Middle East settlement. Skepticism has again taken hold. Consumer-country solidarity is discounted (despite fleeting French-American cooperation at Martinique and the multilateral sharing arrangements of the new International Energy Agency). Oil prices have edged up. In a year Kissinger has not been able to advance his diplomacy beyond the initial minimal disengagement.

The reprieve from Brezhnev's dreaded visit to Cairo only rivets attention again on the meager possibilities in Kissinger's approach, which has always demanded too much of the situation: justice for the Arabs, security for the Israelis, access to oil, and exclusion of the Soviets (the US still apparently prefers continuation of American unilateralism—even if it means perpetuation of the stalemate—to Soviet diplomatic intrusion). So talk rises above the level of gossip and fantasy, indicating how choices are narrowing and sentiments polarizing. Kissinger's airborne peacemaking is nearing an end; the United States, it seems, cannot continue to play both sides and all roles.

It may not be for nothing, therefore, that army planners are cranking up a three-division Middle East expeditionary force (an armored, airmobile and airborne division) as an add-on to the present 13 army divisions. This time there may be reason to believe that the joint chiefs of staff are not just stuffing their files with the usual contingency plans.

An American takeover of an oil state or two, in conjunction with Israeli forces, might seem an attractive possibility, in narrow military terms. A war, and a dramatic Israeli counteroffensive, would provide a) a provocation, b) a context, c) a pretext for a more "lawful" and "benign" insertion of American armed forces, d) possibly a "cover" for such action, and e) help (whether truly concerted or just parallel) in achieving our objectives. These were the elements sought by the British and French in the Suez campaign of 1956.

A scenario might be this: by spring or early summer, when the snows have left the Golan Heights and Egypt has replenished its arms with Soviet deliveries, it would have become clear (perhaps at a prolonged, snagged Geneva conference) that the Israelis will not budge from the Sinai oilfields at Abu Rudeis and the strategic Gidi and Mitla passes, or give any more ground, even token, to Syria, or ever accept an anti-Israeli Arab regime on the West Bank. There would be an escalation of Arab terror raids and border skirmishes. There would not even have to be Israeli preemption in the strict sense, though Israel would be ready to wage an extensive counteroffensive.

With the outbreak of war, Israeli troops, after stabilizing two or three fronts—smashing a Syrian army, deterring a Jordanian attack, and holding the Egyptians at the Sinai passes at little cost—would strike out in a stunning commando attack and seize Kuwait or some other rich and underpopulated gulf oil-producing state. At this point the United States would deploy its own force of "interposition"—actually occupation—to replace the Israelis, under the perfunctory cover of some international agency or consortium, or merely after proposing such a cover in order to clear the field for unilateral action. Concurrently the United States would warn off the Soviets by a replay—or just a hint—of the worldwide nuclear alert of October 1973.

From there the scenario shades off into the euphoric. The damage of invasion or sabotage would be quickly repaired. Other nontarget oil states would be admonished to lower their prices and would be kept in line by our capacity and propensity to break prices by increased supply or by invasion, if necessary. The first oil might be diverted to oil-poor and cash-poor nations at below market prices, to legitimize the military exercise. Needy—and diplomatically complaisant—industrial states would have next priority claim on the oil. Our own needs would be assured, and financial structures stabilized indefinitely. It is not hard to see why this vision might excite enthusiasm.

What is wrong with it? First, one can at least challenge the claims of military feasibility. This is not so easy, since the plans for such an operation are both detailed and secret. More than that, evaluations tend to cut both ways. Initial studies of this option were said to be negative. Jack Anderson cited "secret military studies" by the National Security Council and the

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State Department showing that "it would be impractical, if not impossible, to take over the oilfields of the Persian Gulf" because of "sabotage" and "interdiction" of tankers in the narrow Strait of Hormuz. Also the shallowness of these straits facilitates mine-laying by the Soviets or others. In addition no one is sanguine that in such an operation the United States would have access to staging bases or overflight rights, or the cooperation of our allies in diverting NATO-committed equipment and men from European stations and ports to the Middle East. On the other hand overflight would probably be granted to Soviet forces and supplies over Southeast Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, as in October 1973. And no one can be sure that the Soviets would refrain from bringing their forces to bear—as an interposition between an American amphibious task force and the beach, or as an occupation of Iraq and pressure on Kuwait's borders, or mining of shallow gulf waters in the area of hostilities or at the Hormuz Straits to prevent military and economic shipping.

Offsetting these dim prognoses, the military buffs speculate that an American seizure would be successful, sabotage would be contained and facilities rapidly restored; above all that the Russians would decline to intervene or would fail to reach the landing area in sufficient strength and time. Those who advocate American intervention might even have the edge of this argument, in the narrow terms of military feasibility. At least they might, in their own words, have shifted "the burden of proof" to "those who insist we lack the military capability to intervene successfully" (Tucker).

The answer is that military capability does not dispose of the issue. We are talking about a chain of events that, with a small but appreciable probability, could lead to a nuclear confrontation. We therefore have a right to require higher standards of proof from the proponents than from the critics of such an operation. In any case even the *success* of intervention would leave in its wake a series of burdens, risks and diplomatic liabilities. We might have to occupy several Arab countries for 10 or 15 years, possibly against guerrilla warfare fueled by sympathetic governments, including some new radical regimes likely to emerge. Military assistance to Israel would have to be firmly and perpetually assured. And all this on top of the loss of some American, more Israeli and mostly Arab lives, and the opprobrium we would suffer in the Middle East and throughout much of the rest of the world for years or generations.

As for the Russians they *might* fail to oppose our move on the spot, but they *might* put pressure on us or our allies at other points around the globe where they have local advantage. At least we would have to incur greater mobilization and readiness of forces—far greater than the mere incremental force necessary to secure a few hundred miles of gulf coastline and patrol the offshore waters. (And one of the purposes of détente, we have been led to believe, is precisely to keep the Soviets from putting such diffused pressures on us and therefore to keep the costs of our global involvement within tolerable bounds.) We would have to deploy formidable conventional forces indefinitely, particularly in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The case for larger and more flexible nuclear forces with war-fighting potential—the kind that are appropriate for crisis bargaining with the Soviets—would be strengthened. Defense budgets would have to be loosened immediately and kept more ample for years or decades; the additional cost could easily be $20 billion a year.

To argue against military intervention, it is not necessary to propose with high confidence efficacious alternatives. I doubt if *any* alternative scheme could meet everyone's requirements. Reasonable men might contest the relative merits of international cooperation or national self-reliance, inderdependent options or autarkic courses of action. We would still have to conduct our internal debate over gasoline taxes, import quotas, tax concessions and development incentives, price controls for oil and natural gas, alternative sources of energy, preserving the environment, limiting or encouraging foreign investment, accommodating or neutralizing OPEC monetary reserves. But we don't need to spell out all the alternatives here, except to say that none of them would rely on forcible means of persuasion. That does not mean no pressures, no retaliation in the face of outrageous economic and political insults. But we should not lose our ability to distinguish between counterembargoes, diplomatic ruptures, action against foreign assets—and sending armed forces across international borders, taking over other sovereign states, and killing people in large numbers in deliberate and organized ways.

The point is that the case against intervention should not be made on the plane of detailed pragmatic opportunism. It must be made on those "philosophical" grounds that the new realists affect to despise—the kind of world we hold as an object of our foreign policy, the image we have of ourselves. The greatest damages of intervention are precisely the most elusive—to the fabric of international law, to our moral pretensions.

Not so long ago people who considered themselves liberal-minded were indignant about what Nixon did at Haiphong; now many of them are turning to "surgical," "decisive" intervention with eager interest and few compunctions. Not so long ago they were filling the journals with *mea culpas* about the United States having only six percent of the world's population and consuming 55 percent of its resources. Now, at the first whiff of contrary claims, their visions of "managed interdependence" turn to proposals of international armed robbery.

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Watergate: Act III

by Walter Pincus

We might like to ring down the curtain on Watergate—it has run long enough—but we can't, for there's a third act to be played.

The sequence of events to date has included the following. Two years ago seven Watergate burglars and conspirators were convicted; facing impeachment, Richard Nixon resigned from office last August; on January 1, 1975 his two top White House aides and his former Attorney General were convicted of obstructing justice and lying before congressional committees and a grand jury; his former White House counsel pled guilty to the same conspiracy to obstruct justice; three top Nixon campaign aides last year pled guilty to cover-up charges and a fourth was tried and found guilty.

Nixon's former special counsel pled guilty to obstructing justice in the Ellsberg case; another White House aide pled guilty to conspiracy in the break-in of Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office; a third White House aide pled guilty to illegally backdating papers related to Mr. Nixon's tax returns; two others pled guilty to operating an illegal campaign fund; and Nixon's personal lawyer pled guilty to selling ambassadorships for campaign contributions. An Attorney General admitted he had falsely testified before a Senate committee, having hid the fact that the former President pressured him to drop an ITT antitrust case. An additional Nixon White House aide has been indicted and is awaiting trial for obstructing justice in the Watergate case. The former Treasury Secretary awaits trial on charges he accepted a $10,000 campaign contribution as a bribe. The former finance chairman of the Nixon campaign, himself a former cabinet officer, is under investigation for his handling of 1972 campaign funds. And the former President's closest personal friend is under investigation for allegedly using campaign contributions for personal benefits.

Can there be more? There is. Mr. Nixon's role in the initial obstruction of justice was made plain during the recently concluded cover-up trial, primarily through his own words on White House tapes. Those same tapes, however, show that a *second* obstruction took place—one designed to hide Mr. Nixon's participation in the *first* cover-up, and thus prevent his impeachment. In this second cover-up, as in the first, evidence was destroyed, false statements made, papers doctored. There were secret offers of cash payments and allegations that pardons were promised.

Is it any less a crime to obstruct the impeachment process than to obstruct a criminal court trial? Special Watergate Prosecutor Henry Ruth is now wrestling with that question, for the statutes are not clear. Only one section of the criminal code, dealing with interference with a congressional committee, appears applicable—and it is a slender reed on which to lean. Nevertheless the outlines of the second attempt to conceal the truth are visible.

On June 4, 1973 Mr. Nixon listened to tapes of his earlier meetings with John Dean, and a tape was made of what Mr. Nixon said that day. At one point he declared *he did not need a tape of his April 15, 1973 session with Dean*. But months later, in response to a subpoena, the White House said that the April 15 meeting with Dean was not recorded!

In late June 1973, while John Dean was testifying before the Senate Watergate committee, the White House offered the committee a summary of what was said at each meeting between Dean and the President. Those summaries, some of which included phrases in quotation, must have been prepared either from the tapes or from Mr. Nixon's notes of the tapes. Subsequently it was found that the summaries were drafted to eliminate references to the President's knowledge of the cover-up. Who drafted them? Around this time, incidentally, Mr. Nixon offered his two top aides, H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, cash from a secret $200,000 fund to help pay their legal defense.

On the weekend of September 29 and 30, 1973, the former President and his aides, J. Fred Buzhardt and Alexander Haig, supposedly discovered that they did not have two of the subpoenaed tapes. They discovered this when they came to make transcripts of nine tapes wanted by the special prosecutor. On the following day Mr. Nixon's secretary, Rose Mary Woods, allegedly erased by accident a portion of a third subpoenaed tape—that of a conversation between Mr. Nixon and Haldeman on June 20, 1972, held three days after the original Watergate break-in. No one outside that small White House circle knew of the missing or erased tapes. Nevertheless during the week of October 12, 1973, Buzhardt and Haig sought to get Sen. John Stennis to verify their prepared transcripts of all nine subpoenaed tapes. How was Sen. Stennis to verify what was missing? The question did not arise, for the senator was assured by both Buzhardt and Mr. Nixon that the tapes were complete, though at times difficult to

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understand. Buzhardt was said to have assisted the senator while he went over the transcripts. That stratagem was blown, however, when then Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox refused to agree not to ask for more tapes. At that point seven out of the originally subpoenaed nine tapes were turned over.

Little more than a month later, in the midst of Mr. Nixon's "Operation Candor," a newly hired presidential lawyer stumbled on the fact that 18 minutes had been eliminated from the June 20 Nixon-Haldeman conversation. For one week the former President held off approving his lawyers' request that Judge Sirica be informed. Why the delay?

In the spring of 1974 Mr. Nixon refused to honor subpoenas for additional tapes from the House Judiciary Committee, which was examining impeachment charges. The White House also delayed responding to requests from new Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski. One particular tape requested by Jaworski could not be found, covering an early January 1973 conversation between Mr. Nixon and his former aide Charles Colson, during which clemency for Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt was discussed. It was not found until a few days after Mr. Nixon had been pardoned by President Ford.

On April 11, 1974 the House committee subpoenaed nearly 42 tapes having received only the seven Mr. Nixon had turned over to the prosecutor. Finally, 19 days later, Mr. Nixon delivered to the committee and made public transcripts of 46 taped meetings and telephone conversations. In so doing he said that the transcripts "clearly show what knowledge the President had of an alleged cover-up" and that the only deletions were for "expletives . . . characterizations of third persons, in fairness to them, and other material relating to the President's conduct. . . ."

So the committee might assure itself of the accuracy of these transcripts, Mr. Nixon offered to let House Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter Rodino and the ranking Republican, Edward Hutchinson, listen to the original tapes. But the committee refused to accept transcripts in lieu of tapes, and the chairman therefore never did check what was received against the originals. That offer and its rejection by the committee make it difficult now to charge criminality with regard to doctoring. But there was doctoring, as House Judiciary Committee transcripts and those of the special prosecutor were later to show. The White House version systematically left out statements showing Mr. Nixon's knowledge of the Watergate cover-up and his directives in 1973 to keep it going.

The editing and deletions were so skillfully done, they could only have been planned. In the March 21, 1973 conversation with Dean, as heard in the cover-up trial, the President praised his chief counsel saying ". . . you had the right plan, John, no doubts about the right plan before the election. You handled it just right. You contained it. . . ." But the White House transcript released last April made it appear that Mr. Nixon was telling Dean what to say to John Mitchell. ". . . you say, John, you say, 'No doubts about the right plan before the election. You contained it. . . .' " The two phrases of "you say" are not on the original tape. Likewise deletion of Mr. Nixon's reference to a contributor who was to give money to pay the Watergate defendants is attributed to "material not related to presidential actions."

Who planned and carried out the deception implicit in the April 30, 1974 release? Nixon's chief defense lawyer, James St. Clair, told reporters that the former President "did make every decision with respect to what should be included and excluded. This is his product in that sense." When asked who transcribed the material and who handled the transcripts other than Mr. Nixon, St. Clair answered vaguely, "a number of people."

If there are no criminal violations in the second cover-up, fine. But at least the special prosecutor should get to the bottom of what happened and give us the truth in his promised final report.

There are two other untracked areas that should be explained in the prosecutor's final report. The first involves CIA and Watergate. The Senate Watergate and House Judiciary Committees' records are inconclusive on how much the CIA and its top officials know about Hunt's part in the Ellsberg break-in. CIA files on Hunt and Watergate were withheld from the senators. Testimony by CIA personnel was contradictory. The early retirement of key CIA officials associated with the agency's Watergate inquiry—such as security director Howard Osborn—add to suspicions.

Second, the original Watergate investigation and prosecution needs further study. Former acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray III resigned in disgrace when it became known that he had destroyed material taken from Hunt's White House safe. But what effect did Gray have on the ongoing investigation? What role did Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen play that earned him the description "soldier" from John Dean? How thorough and scrupulous were the three original prosecutors, one of whom—Earl Silbert—now serves as acting US Attorney for the District of Columbia?

Clearing up these ambiguities would do more than set the record straight. They would sharpen discussion of legislative remedies. For instance, should the CIA in criminal matters be allowed to hide behind a national security shield and protect by its own decision agency employees from questioning? In criminal cases of this political character, should a special prosecutor automatically be appointed when the party running the White House is under investigation? What laws or regulations ought henceforth to govern the handling and distribution of FBI files and reports?

The last act has begun.

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Vladivostok

An "Iffy" Arms Control Agreement

by Herbert Scoville, Jr.

The Vladivostok Strategic Arms Agreement was initially hailed as putting a cap on the arms race but later viewed with skepticism as details became available. Sen. Jackson, who usually leads the band calling for higher budgets for nuclear weapons, castigated it for setting astonishingly high ceilings and for not moving toward reductions in existing stockpiles. On the other hand the usual supporters of arms control, while dissatisfied by the high levels they fear will become a floor not a ceiling, support the agreement because it at least sets some upper limits on all strategic delivery vehicles, missiles and bombers, as well as missiles that can carry MIRVs (multiple warheads that can be independently aimed at separate targets). Official spokesmen defend the accord as the best that could have been negotiated now with Russians.

Sen. Jackson laid the groundwork for his present stand by proposing back in December 1973 that the number of strategic delivery vehicles of both sides be reduced to 1760 with equal total "throw-weight," a measure of the payload that a missile can deliver to a target. An important constructive element in the Jackson proposal was that the existing asymmetries in the numbers and sizes of US and Soviet missiles and bombers could be dealt with by allowing an advantage in one category to one side to be compensated for by an advantage in another to the other side. He left open, however, *how* the throw-weight of a missile should be compared with the bombload an aircraft could carry over intercontinental distances. Jackson's proposal also failed to address specifically controls on MIRVs and was therefore patently non-negotiable, for it would have required major reductions in the Soviet force levels and relatively small ones in ours. It would have left the United States far in the lead with our many thousands of relatively accurate MIRVs deployed. (The Soviet Union's MIRV program is still in the early test stage.) Since it failed to constrain MIRVs, the Jackson plan did nothing to reduce the vulnerability of land-based ICBMs, a potentially very destabilizing factor when high yield and accurate MIRVs became available. Nevertheless his initiative gave the senator a strong political claim in the field of nuclear disarmament.

This was not the first time that Jackson had preempted congressional debate over strategic arms control. In the immediate aftermath of the Moscow 1972 SALT I agreements, he became chief spokesman for the group claiming that the agreements were a sell-out. The hearings of his Armed Services subcommittee stole the limelight from the Foreign Relations Committee, which would normally have had primary responsibility for an international treaty on arms control. He focused public attention on the apparent advantage allowed the USSR in numbers of missiles, while he ignored the overwhelming US lead in warheads. Forgotten was the freeze on much-feared large Soviet missiles, obtained without any parallel restraint on any proposed US program. He succeeded in directing the debate toward his own resolution (S.J.Res. 241), which enunciated the principle that any future treaty would not limit the US to levels of intercontinental strategic forces inferior to those of the Soviet Union. For a congressman to have voted against that misleadingly simple proposition would have been political suicide. The Jackson resolution was passed overwhelmingly in both the Senate and the House; the principle it contained was rigorously respected at Vladivostok.

In the interim between SALT I and Vladivostok, congressional supporters of realistic strategic arms control were relatively ineffectual. The principle of exact parity established by Jackson became gospel. None of the more vocal senators, such as Kennedy or Mathias, were on the Foreign Relations or Armed Services Committees, which had primary responsibility in this area. After ratification of the Moscow agreements, the disarmament subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee held no public hearings on SALT II: its members were content to rely on Secretary of State Kissinger and were persuaded that congressional initiative might interfere with his private negotiations.

Meanwhile in those two and a half years, both the US and the USSR continued to enlarge their strategic arsenals. The Russians began in the summer of 1973 to test a new submarine ballistic missile and four new types of ICBMs, three of which carried MIRVs. The US continued to deploy additional MIRV warheads at the rate of three or four each day and accelerated the development of the new costly Trident submarine, the B-1 bomber as a replacement for the B-52s, and several new types of weapons such as a strategic cruise missile. The weapons lobby led by Sen. Jackson defeated every attempt to reduce funds for such programs, which were defended as necessary bar-

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gaining chips for the SALT II negotiations. Secretary of Defense Schlesinger revived the concept of a counterforce strategy, which had been dropped more than 10 years earlier. This US strategy, calling for improved capabilities for attacking Soviet missile silos, was a justification for almost unlimited additions to our weapon stockpiles, and at the same time it further jeopardized our land-based ICBMs. Sens. Symington and McIntyre made a determined effort to get the Senate to reaffirm its earlier disapproval of the counterforce concept and to delete funds for new counterforce weapons. Their effort was doomed.

Belatedly, Kissinger recognized the seriousness of the MIRV problem and did his best to put a lid on these dangerous weapons, but he was unable to get agreement in an administration hobbled by political instability and restrained by the concept of precise equality endorsed in the Jackson resolution. Moreover, President Nixon could not risk antagonizing those he hoped would save him from impeachment.

With Nixon out of the way, Kissinger tried again. The Russians were now eager to have an agreement with the new administration, and by the time of Vladivostok in November 1974, President Ford was desperate for some tangible accord. With 1976 in mind, he sought to demonstrate that he, too, could negotiate an arms control agreement with Secretary General Brezhnev. In two days at Vladivostok the leaders were able to put together the framework for a 10-year limitation to which Kissinger had retreated the previous month and which he now boasted placed a "cap on the nuclear arms race."

When the numbers agreed to at the November 24 summit became public a week later, however, the euphoric glow began to fade, and Jackson was in an ideal position to repeat his previous allegation that SALT II should have led to significant *reductions*. Although the administration had followed precisely the parity guidelines of the original Jackson resolution—insisting on equal total numbers of delivery vehicles, both missiles and intercontinental bombers, and on the number of missiles that could carry MIRVs—agreement was reached only by setting these parity levels at the highest either side was likely to have. It was equality through buildup, not cutback, much the same procedure followed during the negotiation of the ABM treaty and endorsed in the Jackson resolution. In that situation, since each country had a single ABM site but of a different type, the treaty allowed the US to copy (around Washington) the Soviet Moscow ABM defense, and the Russians to copy the US Safeguard ICBM defense, despite the fact that neither had any military value. Fortunately the Congress refused to authorize funds for the ABM defense of the nation's capital, and in July 1974 the administration negotiated a protocol to the ABM treaty limiting each side to its existing single site.

The 2400 ceiling on delivery vehicles agreed to at Vladivostok is slightly higher than the number the Russians now have operational and some 98 less than they would have been allowed if they had replaced all their obsolete ICBMs by submarine missiles in accordance with the SALT I interim agreement. The 2400 is about 10 percent higher than the current US level, and we have had no plans for adding to that number of our delivery vehicles for many years. The ceiling on missiles carrying MIRVs, 1320, was, according to Dr. Kissinger, based on the planned future US program. It would allow us to complete the scheduled deployment of MIRVs on 550 Minuteman ICBMs and 496 Poseidon submarine missiles. In addition, we could place 24 missiles with MIRVs on each of the more than 10 previously proposed Trident submarines.

Although the Russians have not yet begun to deploy MIRVs, their military leaders were probably quite happy with the 1320 ceiling, since it would allow them to put MIRVs on all but three of their 314 heavy and 1010 light modern ICBMs. The agreement would restrict them from placing MIRVs on submarine missiles, but this is something they have shown no inclination to do thus far. No Soviet submarine missile with MIRVs has yet been tested, and with ABMs banned they would have little need for additional warheads on submarine missiles. Their throw-weight can be more effectively used for increased range rather than for more warheads. It is reported that the US tried to persuade the Russians to agree to have at least 50 percent of missiles carrying MIRVs on submarines, in accordance with US practice, but that the Russians would have none of it. If true, this is a further indication of their lack of interest in MIRVs for submarine missiles.

The 1320 ceiling is thus high enough to satisfy any Soviet military appetites for MIRVs on their strategic missiles, even though Kissinger has defended this number by claiming it is significantly lower than the intelligence estimate of the Russian program. Since no facts on Soviet plans for deploying a larger number of missiles carrying MIRVs are now available, Kissinger's estimate may not reflect Soviet intentions.

Finally the 1320 level for missiles carrying MIRVs does nothing to reduce the potential counterforce threat to fixed land-based ICBMs, a major impetus to the continuing strategic arms race. With currently tested MIRV systems, the US could have about 10,000 MIRVs and the Soviets about 8000, more than enough to threaten wiping out a large proportion of the other

COMING: John Osborne's report on Rockefeller's first weeks as Vice President

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side's ICBM force. While such an attack seems almost inconceivable in the light of the invulnerability of other deterrent forces remaining to either country, it is just such a threat that prompted Secretary Schlesinger to say that the new agreement may require restructuring our strategic forces. If Schlesinger persists in his desire to match the Russians' larger missile throw-weight (unconstrained by the Vladivostok agreement), then whole new classes of larger and more powerful missiles will be required by the US. In brief, the Vladivostok agreement demands little restraint and in fact provides many additional incentives for an expanded arms race.

Normally one might expect an economic dividend from a limitation on strategic arms, but Sen. Jackson is correct when he says that this one will not. Secretary Schlesinger is already calling for more money, if not this year at least in subsequent years, by saying the agreement will probably require us to buy weapons we might otherwise not have needed. Sen. Jackson is thus having the best of both worlds. He can cudgel the administration for its failure to reduce armaments and save dollars, and at the same time berate the administration for failing to place any meaningful restrictions on the number of MIRVs available to the Russians, thereby putting the US in a potential position of inferiority because of the larger Soviet missile throw-weight. In the first weeks following Vladivostok, he has advanced these views in order to improve his status with Democratic liberals, at the same time maintaining his close association with the pro-military wing of the party.

Those who have a consistent record of seeking to restrain the arms race and to reduce military expenditures are in a less enviable position. On one hand they are dissatisfied with the very high ceilings and with the prospect that the now-legislated vulnerability of ICBMs will be used as an excuse for buying more and new weapons. On the other hand, they recognize that torpedoing any agreement by trying to force unacceptable new terms, such as one-sided reductions, would be used to justify a vast array of new programs that might eventually raise the weapons stockpiles above the Vladivostok levels. Kissinger has already threatened that if Congress returns the agreement with instructions to negotiate lower limits, it had better accompany it with a five to 10 billion dollar increase for our strategic forces. Neither result is attractive and both will be expensive. However some think that it may be better than no agreement at all.

The US-USSR joint statement of November 24 referred to "further limitations and possible reductions of strategic arms in the period *after* 1985." This seemed to imply no lessening of the arms race burden for 10 years. The outcry against this procrastination has led Kissinger to get the still secret *aide memoire* changed, so that the agreement will at least not prevent real steps toward arms reduction as soon as the Vladivostok accord is formalized. That is very encouraging. Moreover it does not appear that Sen. Jackson will be able to repeat post-SALT I history and monopolize congressional reaction to the new accord. Sens. Kennedy, Mathias and Mondale have introduced a resolution that, while expressing support for the broad purposes of the agreement, says it must lead to further arms reductions, and that despite the agreed ceilings, both countries should make every effort to halt the continuing competition by exercising restraint in any deployment above current levels. They urge that the President negotiate, within the Vladivostok framework, lower levels and also limitations on qualitative improvements and on other types of weapons systems. They are sending a signal that if the administration wishes to get approval for the final treaty, it cannot use Vladivostok as an excuse for additional weapons procurement.

By thus eschewing an "all or nothing" demand for a different agreement (and one that is probably not negotiable at this stage) and simultaneously urging restraint below the Vladivostok levels, these senators have separated themselves from the Jackson position. He has always been a strong believer in all weapons development not specifically forbidden by treaty and of rising expenditures for offensive strategic weapons as bargaining chips in future negotiations. The agreed level of 1320 on numbers of missiles that could carry MIRVs is a classic demonstration of the failure of this tactic. The US has rushed the deployment of MIRVs on Minuteman and Poseidon missiles to the point where we had a lead over the Soviet Union of more than three to one in numbers of independently targetable warheads. Since in the absence of any missile defenses there is no military need for such a large number, they were justified as SALT bargaining chips. Unfortunately, the chips became the floor below which it was impossible to win any agreement with the Russians. We are now forced to allow them to match us in this category of weapons and, therefore, assure the eventual vulnerability of our own ICBM force. Kissinger was too slow in recognizing the pitfalls of continued US MIRV deployment and in negotiating seriously on MIRVs in SALT I. We are paying the price for that delay.

The translation of the Vladivostok accord into a formal treaty promises a lively debate in the Congress and within the Ford administration, and the participants may not end up on the expected side. This will be a unique occasion, since normally an arms control treaty is presented to the Senate as a *fait accompli*, and members have little opportunity to influence the specifics of the agreement. The stakes are high, not only because of the billions of dollars and critical national security issues involved but also because of the part the debate will play in the selection of the next President of the United States.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

The Godfather Part II
(Paramount)

Young Frankenstein
(Twentieth Century-Fox)

I like sequels. At the end of *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1925), when Tom Mix and the girl were sealed up in the canyon, we were told to watch for the sequel, *The Rainbow Trail*. I did, and was glad of it. And what about *After The Thin Man*? And the others after *After*? But you can like the sequels only when you have liked the originals. I was one of the three or four people in our solar system who didn't care much for *The Godfather*, so I wasn't exactly waiting for a sequel. Still it was a gargantuan smash and they had some bits of the novel left over, so they just added some more bits, and *voilà!* I mean *ecco!*

Unfortunately this is not really a sequel, it's just *more*. **The Godfather Part II** simply spells out matters that were all clearly implied in *The Godfather*. That film, 175 minutes long, owed part of its success to its size and detail. That hasn't stopped them from making *Son of Godfather* even longer—200 minutes spent in explicating what everyone could have inferred, except for names and dates, about everything significant in the antecedents and future of the Corleone family.

The saga method continues with a two-way split. The script forges ahead with the exploits of the new Don (Al Pacino), and it also intermittently flashes back to show us how his father got that way. (Brando is not in *Part II*; the young Vito is played by Robert De Niro.) Rarely has so much screen time been spent on inflated clichés, so much portentousness lavished on the banal. When you add the facts that some of the cast are inadequate, that the structure is rickety, and that the ironies are juvenile, you are left with a vastly bloated mediocrity. The Paramount mountain has labored and brought forth a couple of rats.

Francis Ford Coppola, who directed, showed in *The Conversation* that he has real gifts. But he seems locked here by past success to the manner of that success: arbitrarily dim, irrelevant "Old Master" lighting; impersonal, bland, Hollywood-studio camera style; dubious casting. Al Pacino still seems to me to rattle around in a role too big for him. His idea of emanating controlled power is to pause before picking up cues, to speak quietly, and occasionally to slam the table and shout to show what has been pent. To me he's only a modest little self-flagellant of the Ron Leibman stripe, with round shoulders and a pot belly. Diane Keaton still plays his wife. I saw a bit of the first *Godfather* film on TV a few weeks ago and found Keaton indistinguishable from the girls in the intervening commercials. (As was the film's lighting from that in the Dry Sack ads.) Only two performances are interesting. Lee Strasberg, famed/notorious in theater legend, makes his film debut as a thinly disguised Meyer Lansky and does an entirely creditable job. Hardly a wonderful performance, but Strasberg underplays it nicely, a quiet Jewish man who, instead of owning a delicatessen, owns crime syndicates. And there is De Niro as the young Vito. His performance of the young Sicilian immigrant in turn-of-the-century New York, adapting the mores of the Mafia to the New World, has cold, slow, grinding force—a much more difficult job than the hysteric he played in *Mean Streets* and more rounded than the ball player in *Bang the Drum Slowly*. Still all three roles, plus his early work in *Greetings*, make him a true addition to the corps of true screen actors.

But the script! Coppola, who wrote it with Mario Puzo, has told how he had to write it in a hurry and how a lot of frantic editing was done after the first previews. That helps to explain the gaps and distentions. Examples:

1) De Niro rids his East Side neighborhood of a Black Hand extortionist. Before that there's a long sententious scene with the man in a café, about money. Why? Why didn't De Niro just wait in the man's hall and shoot him, which he was going to do anyway?

2) De Niro returns to his native Sicilian town, with wife and child, to kill the Mafia Don who had murdered his family. He slices the man up the belly. How do he and his wife and child get away—waving cheerily from a train—when we have been shown earlier that the town is full of the Don's henchmen?

3) One sequence of Pacino's story takes place in pre-Castro Cuba (where the dictator's career is made heavily analogous to his own career). When a friend arrives, Pacino discloses that he knows an attempt will be made on his life. How in the world did he find out? We never learn.

4) Pacino brings over a Sicilian to sit in a Senate hearing room when the man's Americanized brother is slated to testify against Pacino and friends. The informer sees his brother, knows that murder is being threatened, and suddenly loses his memory in the witness chair. The enraged senators say they will get to the bottom of the witness' cop-out. Do they? We never learn.

And, by the way, the ship on which young Vito is said to be arriving in New York from Sicily is actually leaving New York, sailing south past the Statue of Liberty.

The very success of *The Godfather*, apparently to be duplicated by *Part II*, tells us more about Europe and America than the film itself does. If you make it long and lush, and never venture past the perimeters of the audience's knowledge and imagination while you *seem* to be venturing, they'll storm the doors. No reason why there shouldn't be *Part III*. We may live to see *Part XII*.

Films with or by comics come in two kinds. One, films in which laughter is one aim among many, as in Chaplin, Keaton, Lloyd and Langdon. Two, films in which laughter is the almost exclu-

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

Amarcord. Still top of the list, and not just alphabetically. Fellini's lovely lyric of adolescent memories, some of them not so lovely.

Lenny. A soggy script about the sizzling comic, but Bob Fosse directs his cast and camera well.

Murder on the Orient Express. Whatever you could possibly want from a film with such a title is supplied by a splendid all-star cast.

Scenes from a Marriage. Bergman jammed his six-part Swedish TV series into three hours but most of what's there, including Liv Ullmann, is fine.

SK

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Can't you spare a bite to save a life?

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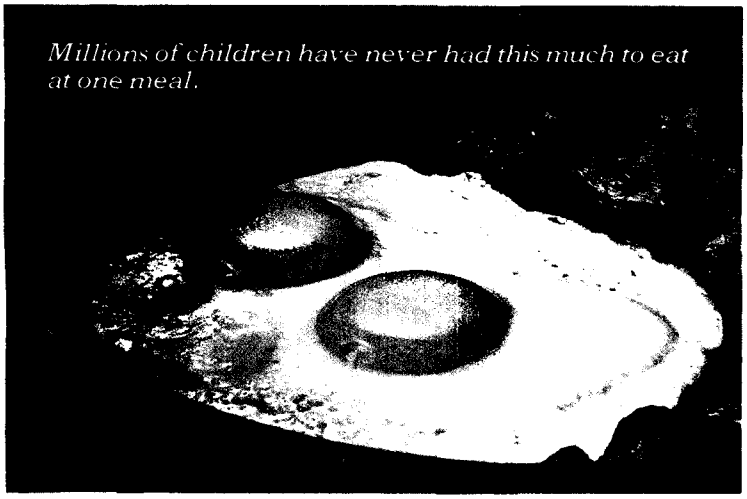
The threat of severe malnutrition or even starvation faces 400 to 500 million children in poorer countries.



Millions of children have never had this much to eat at one meal.

So warns the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). There exists so great a threat that for the first time in the 27 year history of the United Nations, UNICEF has declared a state of emergency for children living in the poor countries.

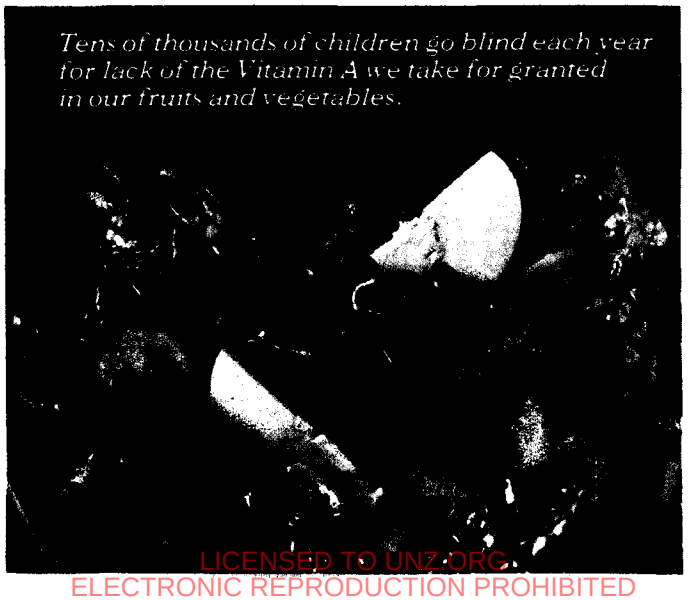
UNICEF estimates that 478 million children in some 60 countries are threatened by the present emergency. The global economic crisis has hit the poorest countries hardest, and many of them have suffered also from droughts, floods, fertilizer shortage and crop failures. These are some of the countries whose children are in greatest danger:

Afghanistan
Bangladesh
Botswana
Burundi
Bhutan
Central African Republic
Chad
Dahomey
Ethiopia
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
India
Khmer Republic
Laos
Lesotho
Malawi
Maldives
Mali
Nepal
Niger
Pakistan
Philippines
Rwanda
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Sikkim
Somalia
Sri Lanka
Sudan
Togo
Tanzania
Uganda
Upper Volta
Western Samoa
Yemen

For far too many generations uncounted millions of children have grown, and many have died, in sub-human poverty. This was almost accepted as a fact of life, a permanent state of affairs. But today, even this shameful stability is threatened.

The most agonizing fact of this critical situation is that children and women in poor countries often receive the lesser share of what food is available so the family wage earner can eat enough to keep working.

Malnutrition is the biggest single contributor to infant and young child mortality in developing countries, where 25 to 30 percent die before the age of 4.



Tens of thousands of children go blind each year for lack of the Vitamin A we take for granted in our fruits and vegetables.

In many parts of Africa almost every child under five suffers from some protein malnutrition.

In Latin America more than half of all childhood deaths are related to malnutrition.

In rural India about 80% of pre-school children suffer from "dwarfism", or stunted growth.

Child deaths in these countries are often attributed to disease when, in fact, the children were probably victims of malnutrition.

"MANY COUNTRIES WILL BE IN DANGER OF HAVING TO REDUCE ALREADY MINIMAL BASIC SERVICES FOR CHILDREN, AFFECTING NOT ONLY THEIR NUTRITION BUT ALSO THEIR HEALTH, EDUCATION AND, MORE GENERALLY, THEIR PROSPECTS FOR LIFE."

Declaration of an emergency by the Executive Board of UNICEF on May 24, 1974.

Food surpluses have vanished, sending the price of available food skyrocketing. Every dollar currently available for food aid to poor nations buys less food. Every child whose very life depends on this aid will get less food, or none at all. Unless more dollars for food aid are available immediately... more children live in peril of death by starvation.

In many developing countries the lower income groups have been spending approximately 80% of their income on food. How can families that are not themselves food producers cope with retail price increases of 20% a year?

The present crisis came to world attention in 1972 when, due to a string of crop failures, output declined for the first time in 20 years – by 33 million tons.

Simultaneous with this sudden drop in production, a major producer, the United States, for internal reasons was winding down its large surplus stocks. The resulting shortage has doubled the price of grain on the international market.

In 1973 a decline in fertilizer production, prevailing since the end of 1972, resulted in high prices and physical shortage. The rise in petroleum prices aggravated the situation by reducing production of fertilizer based on natural gas. It also increased the cost of agricultural fuel.

Food aid shipments, which were 9.6 million tons in 1973, are down to about 5.5 million tons for 1974.

Wheat stocks are down from 49 million tons in 1972 to 15 million tons for 1974. Stocks in importing countries are sharply reduced.

Rice stocks are now virtually exhausted.

If services for children are to be maintained and ultimately expanded, countries will need greatly increased external aid for a number of years to come.

"AMERICANS HAVE BEEN LUCKY. FAMINE HAS USUALLY BEEN FAR, FAR AWAY FROM US."

Walter Cronkite

Here are some unsettling facts about the starvation crisis presented

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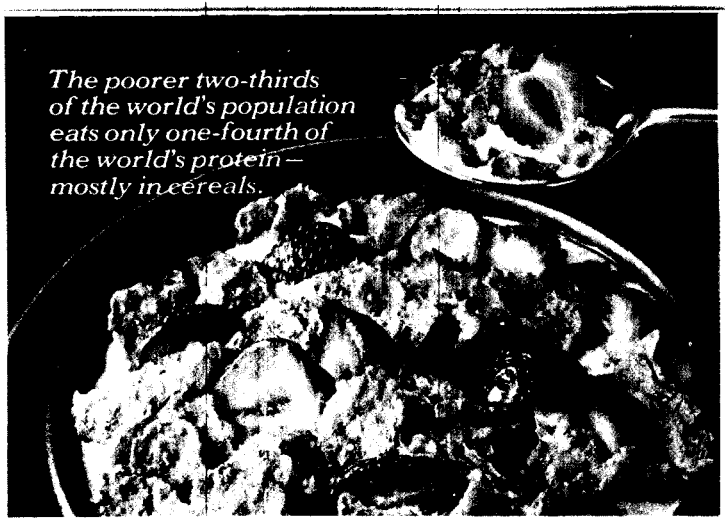
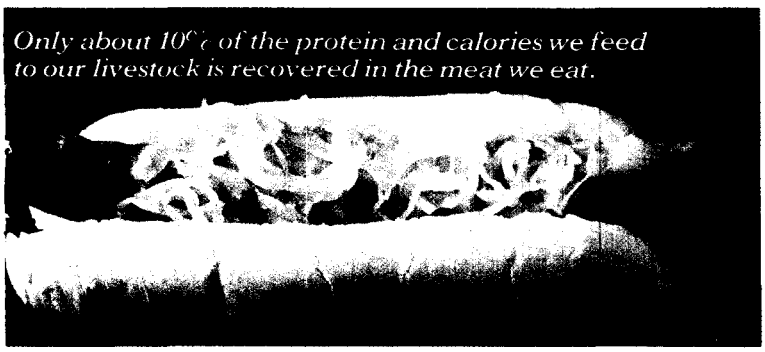


The poorer two-thirds of the world's population eats only one-fourth of the world's protein—mostly in cereals.

by Walter Cronkite on the CBS Radio Network. "In the past, whenever we Americans read of still another outbreak of famine, we simply assumed our government could take care of it with our surplus food stocks, and then we turned to the sports pages. But not any more. Now there are more of us and, on the average, we're always eating better.

"There are virtually no government-held reserve food stocks left. The government no longer orders acreage withheld from planting. We need all the food we can get. Last winter, in order to help out with world relief, in some cases, instead of dipping into reserves, our government had to purchase foodstuffs on the world market, which, of course, added to the inflationary pressures on food prices we had to pay.

"This year our Administration faces a larger version of last winter's dilemma: whether to send more food



Only about 10% of the protein and calories we feed to our livestock is recovered in the meat we eat.

abroad, where it's desperately needed, when such action inevitably will keep food prices up at home. For the forseeable future, the world's poor and starving will no longer be fed at separate tables from our surpluses. Instead, the haves and have-nots of the world will be competing for the same food stocks on the same market."

Higher food prices may be hard to swallow. But American parents can generally take comfort in the fact that their children will always have enough food to swallow; a comfort that will never be experienced by millions of mothers throughout the world.

We are one of a small number of nations—favored with an advanced technology—whose children are the world's most fortunate. They will have longer and healthier lives than people in the developing countries.

"WE ARE AMONG THE WORLD'S ONE BILLION RICHER PEOPLE WHO USE ALMOST AS MUCH CEREAL TO FATTEN THE LIVESTOCK THEY EAT AS THE TWO BILLION PEOPLE IN THE POOR NATIONS EAT DIRECTLY AS FOOD."

Dr. Jean Mayer, Professor of Nutrition, Harvard University.

"We have to realize that there are two essential sources of pressure on the food supply. One, which everybody talks about, is the increase of population, and that certainly has got to plateau at some point, or else we'll never have enough food. But there is another increasing source of pressure which people underestimate, which is that as countries become richer, the meat consumption jumps up—to a fantastic degree.

"We feed about 210 million people in the United States with an amount of grain, which, if we were on a Chinese diet, would feed about a billion Chinese. If we had two meatless days a week, we would be feeding another person, very easily.

"There's every good reason from the point of view of health why we should cut down our consumption of animal products. And we would at the same time free enormous amounts of grain for the constitution of famine stocks elsewhere."

"THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO ACT QUICKLY."

Henry R. Labouisse, Executive Director, UNICEF.

"Great need and real suffering may result before preventative action can be taken if left to the normal schedules of planning, action and implementation."

UNICEF, with experience and expertise in helping children in emergencies, is taking immediate action, alerting governments and agencies worldwide about the critical need for action.

With sufficient resources, UNICEF can offer practical help to the countries most seriously affected. It can help governments establish nutrition programs, train parents and community leaders to increase local food production, and support emergency child feeding projects.

Unlike other parts ot the United Nations system, however, the Children's Fund is entirely dependent on voluntary contributions from governments and people.

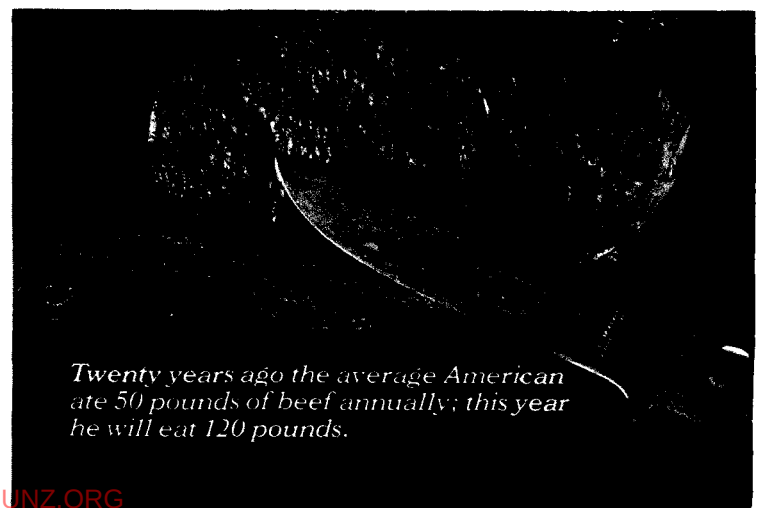
UNICEF hopes to receive $100 million or more next year from government contributions, greeting card sales and Halloween "trick or treat" collections to spend on its "normal" aid to children and mothers.

But, to help meet the special emergency needs, UNICEF must find an additional $80 million in the next 12 to 15 months.

During the time it takes for appeals for help to funnel through government and agency channels, must the mothers and children in danger live each day on more hope than nourishment? Every precious day without help is another day lived with hunger.

Shouldn't we, couldn't we, being among the most abundantly fed people of the world, act today and bring comfort to the children one day sooner than tomorrow? One day sooner than too late?

NO MATTER HOW GRAVE THE CRISIS, NO GOVERNMENT OR AGENCY CAN ACT AS SWIFTLY AS AN INDIVIDUAL CAN ACT. YOU ARE THE CHILDREN'S MAIN HOPE FOR SURVIVAL AT THIS MOMENT IN TIME.



Twenty years ago the average American ate 50 pounds of beef annually; this year he will eat 120 pounds.

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These children don't need your sympathy. They need your help, and immediately. Today. While there's so much hunger. Please do something now. There's so little time. Can't you spare a bite...can't you spare a minute... to save a life?

~ Make a direct contribution with the enclosed coupon.

~ Contact your local civic, religious or social group about organizing a fund raising event.

~ Contact your local school about distributing these brochures in your area or staging a fund raising event.

~ Write to your Congressmen stressing the urgency of getting international children's aid allocations increased.

~ Write to your local newspaper with your ideas about what individuals might do to help during the crisis. Urge them to publish it.

~ Contact your local radio and television stations asking for publicity about events you and your neighbors are undertaking to raise funds.

~ Remind members of your family or organization to "Spare a Bite" for the world's children.

FREE copies of this brochure for local distribution will be sent to you upon request. Use the coupon below.

We think you should know that only one dollar, the average cost of a hamburger, french fries and soda, isn't only one dollar.

$1 is a year's supply of multi-vitamins for a child in a crisis country.

$15 can bring supplementary food and health services to 5 malnourished children for a month in some developing countries.

$66 can buy a deep well hand pump to provide water for drinking and irrigation in drought-stricken areas.

Please take time to send your contribution today.

The United States Committee for UNICEF
331 East 38th Street, New York, New York 10016

Spare a bite for UNICEF
331 East 38th Street
New York, New York 10016

Enclosed is my contribution of $_____to help UNICEF help children in the developing countries.

I am organizing a fund raising event for UNICEF in my community. Please send me_____additional copies of this brochure.

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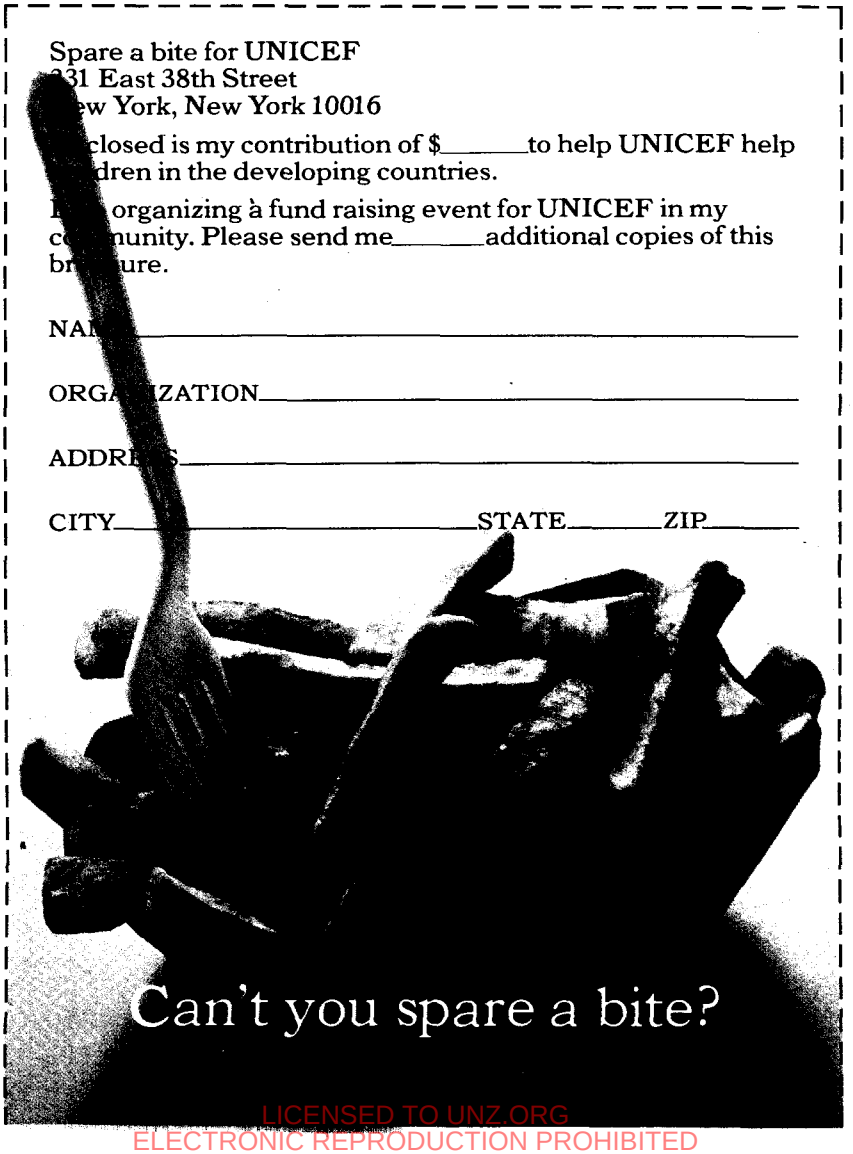
ORGANIZATION_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____STATE_____ZIP_____



This brochure was funded by friends of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF and prepared by Lord, Geller, Federico, Inc. Photography by Henry Sandbank.

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A Kind of Order

Stanley Kunitz

The vision of reality that marks the man of our time, a vision that is ever changing and yet is always thought to be reality itself, owes an incalculable debt to a familiar quartet of intellectual giants, the prime agents in the revolution of modern thought: Darwin, who destroyed the innocence of nature; Marx, who destroyed the innocence of the state; Freud, who destroyed the innocence of the mind; Einstein, who destroyed the innocence of time and space. These are the scientists of our new world, those who employed reason to overthrow the reasonable world into which they were born.

And how much does our vision owe, as we compose the scene of an era, to the fabrications of Cézanne and Picasso, Rimbaud and Eliot, Whitman and Lawrence, Dostoevski and Joyce? They were explorers at the frontiers of the creative intuition. Their images brought us news. I think too of our debt to Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, artists in the realm of philosophy and theology, the broad dominion of the speculative mind.

We are the children of Kierkegaard, who meditated on dread, on the sickness-unto-death, on fear and trembling; who fought against Hegelian rationalism; who defined the significance of the act of choice as an expression of Being; who rejected the claims of objectivity, insisting on truth as inwardness, relational truth, realizable only by an individual in action; who stressed the necessity of commitment, the greatest commitment being the irrational act of faith, the faith that is priceless because it is absurd.

And we are the children of Nietzsche who wrote, "All truths are bloody truths for me"; who questioned the whole structure of good and evil; who attacked the Christian ideal of asceticism as a flight from life, the expression of a diseased will; who deplored the nausea, the sickness, of self-contempt; who heard in himself man's desperate voice crying, "I have got lost; I am everything that has got lost." And who replied implacably, "What does your conscience say? You shall become who you are."

These two men are curiously prophetic. Who but Kierkegaard could have invented Kafka? And who but Kafka could have invented Adolph Eichmann? When Kierkegaard declared, "the more consciousness the more self," he cleared the ground for Freud's pronouncement: "Where id was, there shall ego be."

It was Nietzsche who said, before it really happened: "We live in a period of atoms, of atomic chaos"; who foresaw the Nation State; who predicted, "The hunt for happiness will never be greater than when it must be caught between today and tomorrow; because the day after tomorrow all hunting time may have come to an end altogether."

Truth is not the exclusive property of scientific intelligences. New intuitions, new modes of perception, new ranges of metaphor are aspects of the same reality as theirs and potentially even more comprehensive in view, since they incorporate into a world of thought, a world of feeling. Artists and scientists comprise a fraternity of the imagination, subject to the same pressures of history, and interdependent in their development.

The central observations of modern science are to be found crystallized in Planck's Quantum Theory, Einstein's Theory of Relativity, and Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty. They imply a universe bereft of time and space, which have been pushed back into the human consciousness as forms of intuition; a universe without cause and effect, the cornerstones of the old science, which have been replaced by fields of statistics and probabilities; a universe, then, of indeterminacy and caprice, not stabilized by things but storming with energy and motion; a universe whose objective reality, if it has any, we can never hope to know.

The most recent explorations of inner and outer space lead us further along the road to nowhere. The atom, which used to be immutable and eternal, turns out to be neither. It has been broken down into more than 100 elementary particles—or what are called particles—and the quest is far from ended. Beyond matter we hear strange stories about the properties of anti-matter, the most rabid inhabitant of the zoo of modern physics, since it destroys both itself and ordinary matter at once when the two approach each other. And now astronomers point to the existence of "black holes" in the sky as signals of the ultimate collapse of the entire universe into a superdensity of nothingness, a forever without matter, Shakespeare, or physical law.

Three centuries ago Pascal could write in words that still ring majestically: "Man is only a reed, the feeblest reed in nature, but he is a thinking reed. There is no need for the entire universe to arm itself in order to annihilate him: a vapor, a drop of water, suffices to kill him. But were the universe to crush him, man would yet be more noble than that which slays him, because he knows he dies, and the advantage that the universe has over him; of this the universe knows nothing."

The pride of Pascal, who gloried in the blessed gift of reason, rests on the conviction that man is man, nature is nature—the one subject, the other object. Though the king can be killed by a knave, the knave can never deprive him of his royalty. But a man of our time no longer stands separate from and superior to the natural universe. He has become part of his very field of perception; he is scattered into the drifting cosmic dust; and the dust blows through him.

Heisenberg, who demonstrated that the very act of observation changes the phenomena to be observed, quietly asserted, without feeling the need for an exclamation point: "Modern physics, in the final analysis, has already discredited the concept of the truly real." Probing the universe, man finds everywhere himself. "We are both spectators and actors in the great drama of existence," wrote another Nobel Prize physicist, Nils Bohr.

These are speculations that offer us at least an entrance to a new vision of heaven and hell, a vision that may have its portents of terror but is not without grandeur. Its equivalent in art would be works of spiritual assertion, of heroic confrontation, of tragic dimension.

We live in one of the most violent epochs of history, in which none of us can claim ignorance of the many faces of disorder. A man of this century has witnessed great seismic shifts of power; the rise and fall of dictators; the convulsions of nations; the slaughter of innocents; unprecedented scandals in high places, brutalities, terrors. "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold."

Since the Industrial Revolution the mainstays of order have been religion,

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science and bourgeois morality. We need not discuss the last, since it scarcely exists, save as hypocrisy or parody. As for religion the rationalists who preoccupied themselves with setting up proofs of divinity have perished and we are left with the followers of Nietzsche, proclaiming, "God is dead," and of Kierkegaard, preaching, "Believe—but know that your belief is absurd." The third member of this trinity of order, science, is the craziest of the lot—that is, if common sense is your criterion. No scientist worth his salt would pretend for a moment that ordinary reason is equipped to cope with the structure of the universe. Science, in fact, has fathered a crucial paradox: on the one hand, by way of technology, it has served to effect the triumph of mechanization and mediocrity; on the other, by way of theory, it has opened the gates of the universe to mystery. "Pure logicality," wrote Einstein, "cannot yield us any knowledge of the empirical world."

He also remarked that common sense is nothing more than a deposit of prejudices laid down in the mind prior to the age of 18.

People are always complaining that modern art is unintelligible. Is there anything else on earth of any importance that they can truly profess to understand?

The first symptoms of the disintegration of our ordered universe appeared in the arts before it became generally obvious. The landscape begins to tremble in the paintings of Cézanne. A century ago Carlyle stated that the fine arts had got into "an insane condition and walk abroad without keepers, nobody suspecting their bad state, and do phantastick tricks."

Irrationality may well be the safest of all disguises for the modern artist—the mask, or persona, that permits him the greatest freedom of expression with a certain degree of immunity, though there is a danger, to be sure, that the mask may eventually usurp the face. As Yeats noted, "Seeming that goes on for a lifetime is no different from reality."

At a time when man does not have a steady gaze on a fixed reality, when reality as such is atomized, and when the psyche, separated from society, split between thought and feeling, no longer appears to be a coherent entity, poetry inevitably tends to become increasingly aware of itself, to turn inward. The medium becomes the subject, the flow of the poem is equated with the flow of the mind, the associational flow. The poetry is in the *process*.

Poetry is the subject of the poem.
From this the poem issues and

To this returns. Between the two,
Between issue and return, there is

An absence in reality,
Things as they are. Or so we say.

But are these separate? Is it
An absence for the poem, which
acquires

Its true appearances there, sun's
green,
Cloud's red, earth feeling, sky that
thinks.

From these it takes. Perhaps it gives
In the universal intercourse.

Wallace Stevens, "The Man with the Blue Guitar," XXII.

The difficulty with so impersonal a theory of poetics is that it takes no note of the indispensable encounter between the artist and his medium. Art doesn't simply happen: the artist must *do* something. After Franz Kline had abandoned representational painting and applied himself to the transmutation of energy into bold ideograms, he made a typically wry comment: "The subject has become the problem. You can say 'painting is the subject,' but you just can't stand by with a shelf full of paint cans." Once he said to me, "Art has nothing to do with knowing, it has to do with giving." Stevens would have resisted that dictum as romantic overstatement, but in the passage quoted he stresses the same verb: "Perhaps it *gives*/ In the universal intercourse."

One of the characteristic postures of the modern poet is the contemplation not of his own navel, but of his own mind at work. "An idea cannot be fixed," wrote Valéry. "The only thing that can be fixed (if anything can be) is something that is not an idea. An idea is an alteration—or rather a mode of alteration—indeed, the most discontinuous mode of alteration." His M. Teste remarks: "I am existing and seeing myself; seeing myself see myself, and so on." The work modifies the author, we are told, as a woman modifies herself in front of a mirror. I think of those women in the paintings of de Kooning who sit in front of a window that is also

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a mirror and also a picture on a wall. How can you tell the inside from the outside, the reality from its reflection? Yeats had asked the question before, "How can we know the dancer from the dance?" In a letter to Mallarmé, Valéry abandoned the distinction between form and content: "What they call the content is only impure (that is to say, *muddled*) form."

To perpetuate any kind of truth about human experience is ultimately to be on the side of order, but the concept of order is among the things that change. Consider, for example, how lunatic the flow of traffic in our streets would seem to our pre-automotive ancestors. We ourselves would be inclined to throw a fit every time we crossed the street if we did not believe, however mistakenly, that the mobility we have gained through the invention of the automobile is worth the risk we take with our pedestrian lives. The disorder becomes bearable because it fits into the structure of our 20th-century values. The human organism is equipped to tolerate only a limited amount of confusion. One of the prime tasks of the imagination is to create an illusion of order.

Cubism followed hard on the heels of Relativity in the first decade of the century, but it would be foolish to argue that Picasso or Braque was illustrating Einstein. Scientist and painter made the same metaphysical leap, discovering for themselves, each according to his genius, the equivocations of space, time and location, where neither the scene nor the implied observer of the scene is at rest.

Since the art of our time is the only art we can get, I must defend it against the enemies of art, however much I quarrel with certain of its aspects. One can no more make a case against modern art than one can make a case against history. The argument from within is the only one worth listening to. The first obligation is the effort toward compassionate understanding, tied to the realization that it is the artist's historic consciousness that prevents him from being optimistic, as it is his esthetic conscience that prevents him from becoming popular.

Every work of art of any interest must be considered an event. The word "event" has a peculiar vibration in the vocabulary of contemporary physics, for it is tantamount to a definition of reality. It is not the particle of matter or the point in space or the instant in time at which something happens that has physical reality, but only the event itself, the event embedded in its four-dimensional continuum. Einstein was born into a world of substances; he died in a world of events.

In the '50s a painting began to look like a scarred battleground in which there was as much evidence of destruction as of creation. The corrections, the rejections, the mistakes had become incorporated into the final work. It is as though the artist were intent on showing us the painting as a process rather than a thing. Behind this esthetic lurks the ghost of the Dada movement, which—against the background of the Russian Revolution in a time of the breaking of nations—had borrowed from the revolutionary Bakunin the slogan: destruction is also creation.

Though the Dadaists loved nothing more than to create a scandal, their purpose was serious. The art that they rejected was an art they despised for serving as a safety-valve for the preservation of bourgeois society. They were against all systems that stultified human spontaneity. If they did nothing else, they demonstrated the creative power of unreason and violence—how they could be used for the sake of man instead of against him. Their cult of spontaneity is still very much with us. And all the arts, since the moustache was painted on the Mona Lisa, have moved in the direction of anti-art.

When belief in miracle was an article of faith, the irrational could enter art ceremoniously by way of the front door, with hat and calling card in hand, and be confident of a gracious welcome. Today, when the house is burning, we hear the irrational trampling up the cellar stairs, but we cannot be really sure, hearing the blows of its axe, whether it comes to kill us or to save. It seems to me no accident that so many wizards, astrologists, magicians and clairvoyants, readers of Tarot cards, not to speak of primitivistic fetishes less than half-believed in, populate our poems. They are the mocking agents of the degraded miracle. To misquote Emerson: "When the Gods go, half-gods arrive." No doubt it would be preferable to have full-time, hard-working gods to light up our verses, but they do not seem to be in supply at the moment.

With young writers I make a nuisance of myself talking about order, for the good reason that order is teachable; but in my bones I know that only the troubled spirits among them, those who recognize the disorder without and within, have a chance to become poets, for only they are capable of producing a language galvanic with the contradictions of the actual.

It was Lionel Johnson, of the child's body and the hieratic brain, who said to Yeats on one occasion, "Yeats, you need ten years in the library, but I have need of ten years in a wilderness." The library and the wilderness, order and disorder, reason and madness, technique and imagination—the poet to be complete must polarize the contradictions.

I would not even try to put my finger on the exact spot where craft ends and art begins. The match spurts fire, and flame begets flame. Clichés of speech, clichés of observation and thought, clichés of feeling—when these are driven from the temple, the self stirs and the imagination begins to taste its freedom. That is one reason why all poetry, no matter how tragic its theme, seems strangely rooted in joy. Of course

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nobody goes to school to learn about wildernesses. Each artist can be trusted to discover his own.

Yeats taught us that out of our quarrel with others we make rhetoric; out of our quarrel with ourselves, poetry. Different quarrels make different kinds of poems, and our quarrels today are quite different from those, let us say, of the 18th century. Our quarrel with sex, for example, is enormously complicated by our quarrel with mechanization. The kind of poetry we get is not so much what the age demands—our age demands nothing from the artist but his submission—as what it deserves, and sometimes better than it deserves.

The arts do not characteristically attack the ills of an age with drastic remedies, for the artist is more than merely the physician: he is, in good measure, the patient as well. Order is treated with homeopathic doses of order; disorder with disorder. One might say, stretching the point, that the Age of Reason died of a surfeit of heroic couplets. Fine couplets, too, so many of them were!

> *Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:*
> *God said "Let Newton be!" and all was light.*

Who among us today could match the brilliance and sublime confidence of Alexander Pope's lines? A 20th century parodist could only reply:

> *It did not last: the Devil howling "Ho, Let Einstein be," restored the status quo.*

The more man achieves, the more aware he becomes of his limitations, including the limitations of his senses. The human eye, for example, is sensitive only to the narrow band of radiation that falls between the red and the violet. Most of the "lights of the world" are suppressed. For those missing lights we must substitute the light of the imagination. The prison-house, said Plato long ago, is the world of sight. One of the characteristic escape routes, for the modern artist, is to dive into the flux of his own sensibility, the space-time river, and to ride with the current. In the opposite camp are those who seek the purity of a system, the crystal palace of geometry. A few dare to submit themselves to the ordeal of walking through the fire of selfhood into a world of archetypal forms.

To make any kind of affirmation, in the midst of this random and absurd universe, one must begin by affirming the value of one's own existence; but the affirmation must not be too glib or too cheaply won; it must rise out of the wrestling with all that denies it, to the very point of negation.

That order is greatest which holds in suspension the most disorder; holds it in such precarious balance that each instant threatens its overthrow. In life and in art, consistent with the precept of Paul Tillich, "the self-affirmation of a being is the stronger the more non-being it can take into itself."

Where else but in the free country of art is it possible to tell the whole unspeakable truth about the human condition?

This is the first chapter of Stanley Kunitz's A Kind of Order, A Kind of Folly, *to be published in May by Atlantic/Little-Brown. He is presently the poetry consultant to the Library of Congress.*

Novel of Power

Anya
by Susan Fromberg Schaeffer

(Macmillan; $8.95)

Some months back in this journal its literary editor described the mounting excitement reviewers feel as they recognize the first-rate talent of an unknown author. It was with that sort of excitement, a delight of discovery reminiscent of one's first awareness of the magic power of the printed page, that I experienced Susan Fromberg Schaeffer's *Anya*.

Schaeffer is not an unknown. Her first novel, *Falling*, was named one of 1973's 10 best by *Time*, and she has published three volumes of poetry. *Anya* was selected, prior to publication, as a Book-of-the-Month Club alternate; it has since been advertised and reviewed.

And yet, as the 1974 publishing season ended, *Anya* disappeared in critical memory among the other "first-rate" novels. Its moment may come again, but because I think *Anya* is not only first rate but of the first rank, a major novel rather than a "big-book event," I would prefer to acclaim it now, and not wait 10 years for an appropriate reconsideration.

Anya is the narrative of a survivor, Anya Savikin Lavinsky Meyer, of the loss of family, career and country, survivor of ghetto, concentration camp and the bizarre refugee world of post-war Europe, survivor of her own life, its dreams and its memories. Still a young woman when she came to the United States, Anya thought she would forget "her story." In 1973, 52 and "not so attractive," she acknowledges:

> *I have not forgotten anything. If I am alone for even five minutes, whole sections of my life unfold in front of me. They are so vivid, they are like scenes from a movie, except the scenes are three-dimensional, and immediately the director with the small mustache casts me as the main character.*

She even consults a psychiatrist-hypnotist, hoping he can erase all memories before the feel of the dock in New York; he cannot, and would not if he could. Lonely in the present, in spite of husband and children, Anya faces her past and records it.

The record is meticulous. Anya insists that it must be so.

> *If you are going to learn a person's life, then, like learning a language, you must start with the little things, the little pictures, the tiny square images, like rooms, that will grow into a film, but not like any film, one you have been in as an extra.*

Her voice has the elegiac quality of a medium as she re-creates the world of Vilno's Jewish bourgeoisie. We see all the little things that made up her life: the furnishings of her family's apartment, her sister's music, her mother's determination that the children have a good *fundament*, her father's books. Life is warm and rich textured and secure. Summers at the dacha alternate with winters at medical school. Anya's bridal pictures are added to the blue velvet family album, and her own red velvet album will begin with the birth

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pictures of her daughter.

The war destroys the velvet albums and the cycle of perfect and important moments they contained. Now, in "biblical times," the living envy the dead but have no time for grief, no way to hold—or to lose—the mind-engraved snapshots of deaths and arrests. Only Ninka remains, the daughter hidden and found, to be a living book for Anya.

But Ninka's experiences are her own. On the boat to New York she tells her mother, "That Mr. Max is funny; he knows a lot of stories. He was telling someone a fairy tale about cooking people in ovens." And years later, as Anya tries to return to living "in history," to understand how she is both different from others her age because of the war and like them because of her time, how she may still be effective, listened to, admired, "Mother," Ninka says, "it is nineteen seventy-three."

While Anya was hiding in the Gentile home where Ninka had been adopted, waiting to rescue her from her rescuers, she suddenly realizes:

> *My life was not continuous; it would never be continuous again. Something, the world, or history, had intervened like a terrible editor of a movie, snatching out handfuls of characters, changing the sets wildly, changing them back again, keeping some of the actors, changing the rest, old ones reappearing with mysterious, unknown pasts trailing behind them, looking for the others, endlessly asking questions about what happened in the middle, and the rest of the group in a hurry to get on with it, and all embarrassed because no one knows the answers to the questions they ask.*

The questions Anya asks now are about fate and responsibility, innocence and evil, pacifism and revenge, and about chosen Jews and the assassinated American leaders, about mothers and daughters and love and freedom. The doting Jewish grandmother with her bleached hair doesn't expect to find answers, but she isn't afraid to ask.

Reading the red-paper bound proofs of *Anya*, bare of prepublication blurbs and dust-jacket summary, I felt I might have been reading a document of the Holocaust, the history of a woman sitting, at this moment, in her second husband's antique store. Rereading the novel in the hardcover edition, now properly adorned for its public, I appreciated the unobtrusive craft that had shaped this narrative. Schaeffer's art has created a work which, like other great novels of our time, is about itself and its audience. *Anya*, strong and beautiful, is an achievement of power and importance.

Elaine Reuben

ELAINE REUBEN *writes and lectures on women, education and the arts. She lives in Madison, Wisc., writes for* The Progressive *and* The National Observer.

Fine Print

Books in Series

Doris Grumbach

Reviewers tend to shy away from two- or three-volume books, feeling they properly belong on reference shelves and are too heavy for the ordinary reader to handle comfortably. But I have come upon a few that are of more-than-usual interest:

Belknap/Harvard University Press has done the feminist community and the rest of us a service by publishing, first in 1971 and apparently reissuing now, the three-volume **Notable American Women 1607-1950.** This is an example of what the editors, Edward T. James and Janet Wilson James, call "cooperative scholarship." It requires pages for them to acknowledge all the people who contributed to the 13-year project that grew out of the resources of the superb Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe. The 1359 women listed here (with the exception of wives of US Presidents) are distinguished in their own right—women "whose work in some way took them before the public."

The signed articles in the substantial volumes are uniformly well written, and are supported by complete bibliographies. It is fun to browse in these books, to come upon, for example, Ellen Curtis Demorest (1824-1898) who was inspired by "the show of fashion" in Saratoga Springs in her time to open a millinery shop, which she eventually moved to Brooklyn where she met a widower, William Demorest. Together they started a business selling "accurate dress patterns, mass-produced in thin-

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tissue paper, for home dressmaking." They edited a magazine *Mme. Demorest's Mirror of Fashions*, opened an emporium, engaged in many other activities. Ishbel Ross describes her importance: "Through her patterns Ellen Demorest had carried fashion from the metropolis to grassroots America." Or, on the same page, the history of Sister Mary Joseph Dempsey, a Franciscan nun who was surgical assistant to Dr. William Mayo, and established Rochester, Minnesota's first hospital.

Some of these lives, in fact for me *most* of them, have been hidden history. It is important to have the books at hand to browse through. My only complaint about them is that the paper-covered volumes ($25 for the three, boxed) do not stay together under frequent handling. There is a hardcover edition for $75.

Another three-volume publication, **A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States,** edited by Herbert Aptheker, with an introduction by the venerable and highly respected W. E. B. DuBois, is now available to anyone looking for historical data, here provided in the words of the makers of black history themselves. Every possible source of information is here, from colonial times to the founding of the NAACP in 1910, and then on through the New Deal to the end of World War II. Aptheker has supplied introductions and notes to the newly revealed drama that is the rise of the Negro people to full citizenship. One drawback to the series is that it stops short of the recent revolutionary years. I would expect that it will soon add a fourth volume bringing the collection up to date, but for the moment it is very good, extremely serviceable and readable, and what is more, available. (Each volume, $17.50, Citadel Press/Lyle Stuart).

Basic Books is responsible for the two-volume **History of Judaism** by Daniel J. Silver and Bernard Martin ($37, the two, boxed) a literate, readable (that word recurs but it happens to be true) study of what the editors claim is "an attempt to give a historical account of Judaism—a way of life, thought and faith on which we believe deeply and which nourishes our spirits as it has sustained and inspired countless men and women for more than a hundred generations." I find it remarkable that the writers have been able to encompass so great a span of history (three-and-one-half millennia) and still maintain their admirably fresh tone, engaged yet objective.

The volumes are not so much dogmatic ("Judaism is not a series of ideas about God, but a way of life organized around a nation's experience with God," they write) as instructive, finely wrought history. Their enthusiasm or bias never intrude on the tale, although their concern and sympathy are always there. To my completely uninstructed mind, the chapters on "The Rabbinic Mind" and "Hasidim" were especially illuminating. Volume II contains a good glossary of Hebrew and technical terms, and a first-rate bibliography for each section. These are volumes one is tempted to recommend more to Gentiles than the Jewish world of readers although, as is usual in such cases, it will problably be those closest to, and most knowledgeable on, the subject who will buy them.

If you know Philadelphia at all you may be aware that it is a city exceedingly rich in outdoor sculpture. Walker and Co. has provided us with a graphic reminder of just how rich it is, a huge volume, **Sculpture of a City** ($25), sponsored by Philadelphia's Fairmount Park Art Association. It contains more than 720 excellent photographs, called by the *NY Times'* art critic John Canaday "among the finest photographs of sculpture I have ever seen," and knowing less about it I must agree. The book is a two-year-long labor of love. Its text and layout are clear evidence of the care that has gone into production. Seven photographers known as "The Philadelphia School"—all were artists before becoming photographers—show evidence of this prior experience. The book spans sculptors from William Rush to Louise Nevelson, and includes such famous names as Henry Moore, Epstein, Lipchitz, Alexander Calder, Paul Manship, etc. Much more than a picture book, it is, as someone else has remarked, a tribute "to a city's patronage and pride." I was taken with the story of the creation of the statue of William Penn that stands high above the city on top of the tower of City Hall, as well as by the study of Henry Moore's masterpiece that now resides in the JFK Plaza in the center of downtown Philadelphia. The publishers note that the book "will be treasured as an outstanding contribution to the nation's upcoming bicentennial." And for once, on that subject, I will concur.

Color Schizophrenic

On sun days
the poet in me
nurtured by pleasant English teachers
sees chartreuse as the color of
baby chick fuzz against Easter basket grass,
the thin sweet sound born of a bamboo flute,
the flavor of young asparagus warm
beneath a cheese sauce blanket
or baby butter beans dejacketed
and simmering for supper.

On un-days
the goat in me
butting against the memory of
the annual dose of calomel
in the Springs of my childhood
sees chartreuse as the bilious green
of graveyards of decapitated onions
massacred in the first lawn cutting,
the shriek of yellow chalk scratched
across a green slate blackboard,
the slimy stems and pale limp leaves
of hospital flowers finally being emptied,
the taste of a silver-plated spoon left
overnight in a jar of mayonnaise.

GRACE BEACHAM FREEMAN

GRACE BEACHAM FREEMAN *teaches poetry in Rock Hill, SC, school system.*

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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

sive aim, as in the Marx Brothers, Laurel and Hardy, Abbott and Costello and the Ritz Brothers. Mel Brooks tries to do the second kind.

The first kind is more difficult because it calls for broader artistry and conspectus; the second kind is, in a way, more strenuous because it calls for incessant joke and gag invention. Brooks is a funny joke-and-gag man, but not 104-minutes funny. *Blazing Saddles* was a hodge-podge with some funny bits. **Young Frankenstein** is an organic entity, is Brooks' best directed film (which is to say passable), but runs 104 minutes, which is longer than Brooks' wit can run.

The present-day Frankenstein, an American surgeon-professor, returns to Transylvania and goes through a parody of the original story, complete with electrified operation, mysterious servant and pallid blonde heroine. Some of the moments have real Brooks craziness. To demonstrate how successful the operation has been, Frankenstein and the monster appear in vaudeville, in white tie and tails, doing "Puttin' on the Ritz." That's the sort of thing that only Brooks at his best can think of. Brooks at his feeblest writes a long parting scene between the hero, Gene Wilder, and his fiancée, Madeline Kahn, in which she doesn't want to be mussed by a kiss and they end up rubbing elbows. Brooks at his most repetitious has another scene with Kahn, as in *Blazing Saddles*, in which she screams as she is being sexually assaulted only to have the screams turn to sounds of pleasure because of the size of the rapist's organ.

And Brooks at his most loyal sticks to Wilder, who also collaborated on the screenplay. Wilder, his hair dressed here to make him look like a koala, has a modest repertoire of intimate cabaret comedy tricks. Kahn's part is poor, not well characterized even in relevant terms. Peter Boyle wears all the stuff for the Karloff caricature: he doesn't have to do much more than wear the stuff. And an English comic named Marty Feldman plays the hunchbacked assistant. He is exophthalmic and not especially pleasant to look at.

Young Frankenstein is like a sketch from the old Sid Caesar show, for which Brooks wrote, spun out 10 times as long. Ten times too long. Brooks is a sprinter, and there aren't enough good sprints here.

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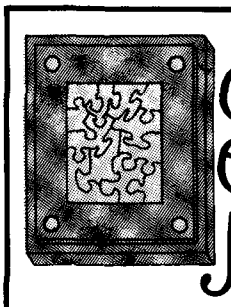

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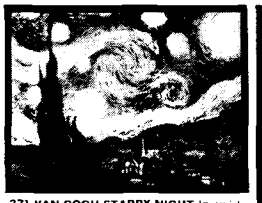

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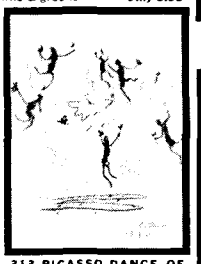

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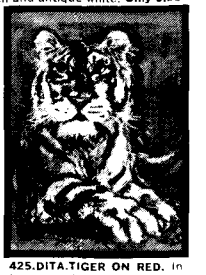

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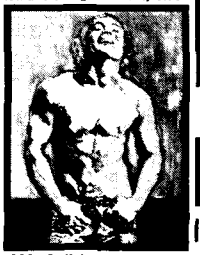

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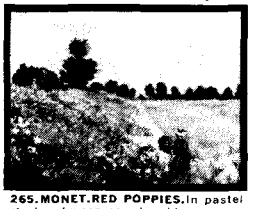

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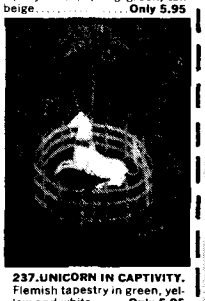

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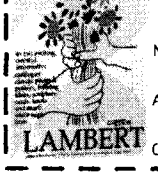

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